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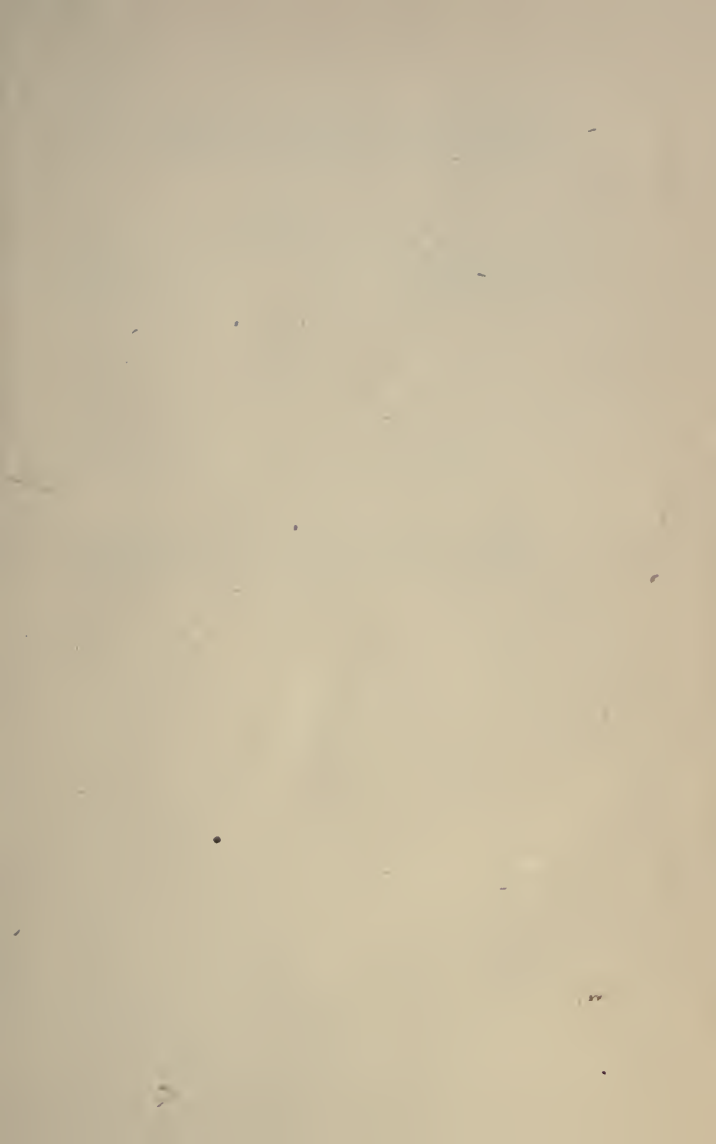














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## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
EARNEST CARY, PH.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF  
EDWARD SPELMAN

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

# ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΓΔΟΟΣ

Ι. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ἦν<sup>1</sup> ἐνῖκα στάδιον Ἀστύλος Κροτωνιάτης, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγχίσου, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰούλος<sup>2</sup> καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος Ροῦφος, ἄνδρες ἥκιστα πολεμικοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τυχόντες, εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἠναγκάσθησαν κινδύνους καταστῆναι, πολέμου καταρραγέντος ἐκ<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς δι' ὧν ἡ πόλις ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐκ βάρων ἀναιρεθῆναι. ὁ γὰρ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολανός, ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι αἰτίαν σχών<sup>4</sup> καὶ φυγῇ αἰδῖω ἐλαθείς, ἀγανακτῶν τε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, δι' οὗ δ' ἂν αὕτη γένοιτο τρόπου καὶ δι' οἷας δυνάμεως ἀνασκοπῶν,

<sup>1</sup> ἦν Jacoby : καθ' ἣν Ο.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκ Ο : ἐπὶ Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling : Ἰουλλος Ο.

<sup>4</sup> Cobet : ἔχων Ο.

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 1-2, 3 cf. Livy ii. 35, 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> 487 B.C.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS  
BOOK VIII

I. The consuls<sup>1</sup> who were chosen after these were Gaius Julius Iulus and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy-third Olympiad<sup>2</sup> (the one in which Astylus of Croton won the foot-race), when Anchises was archon at Athens. These magistrates, who were not in the least warlike men and for that reason chiefly had obtained the consulship from the people, were involved against their will in many great dangers, a war having broken out as a result of their rule<sup>3</sup> which came near destroying the commonwealth from its foundations. For Marcius Coriolanus, the man who had been accused of aiming at tyranny and condemned to perpetual banishment,<sup>4</sup> resented his misfortune and at the same time desired to avenge himself upon his enemies; and considering in what manner and with the aid of what forces he might accomplish this, he found that

<sup>3</sup> Or, following Kiessling's emendation, "in their consulship."

<sup>4</sup> See vi. 92-94, vii. 21-64.

μίαν εὔρισκε Ῥωμαίοις τότε ἀντίπαλον ἰσχὺν τὴν  
 Οὐολούσκων, εἰ κοινῇ χρησάμενοι γνώμῃ καὶ  
 3 τυχόντες ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος ἐνστήσονται πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐλογίζετο μὲν οὖν,<sup>1</sup> ὥς εἰ  
 πείσειε τοὺς Οὐολούσκους δέξασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ  
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πολέμου, ῥαδίως  
 αὐτῷ διαπεπράξεται τὸ ἔργον· ἐτάραττε δ' αὐτὸν  
 ἡ συνείδησις ὅτι πλειστάκις κατὰ τὰς μάχας δεινὰ  
 δεδρακὼς ἦν αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας ἀφῆρη-  
 μένος. οὐ μὴν ἀπέστη γε τῆς πείρας διὰ τὸ τοῦ  
 κινδύνου μέγεθος, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ χωρεῖν  
 4 ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅτιοῦν. φυ-  
 λάξας δὲ νύκτα καὶ ταύτην σκοταίαν ἦκεν εἰς  
 Ἄντιον, τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις  
 πόλεων, ἡνίκα περὶ δεῖπνον ἦσαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν  
 πόλιν, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ,  
 δι' εὐγένειάν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέ-  
 μοις πράξεις μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονούντος καὶ τὸ  
 ἔθνος ὅλον ἄγοντος ὥς τὰ πολλά, ᾧ Τύλλος Ἄττιος  
 ὄνομα ἦν, ἰκέτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γίνεται καθεζόμενος  
 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας. διηγησάμενος δ' αὐτῷ τὰς κατα-  
 σχούσας αὐτὸν ἀνάγκας δι' ἃς ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἐχθροὺς καταφυγεῖν, μέτρια ἡξίου φρονῆσαι καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπινα περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου καὶ μηκέτι πολέμιον  
 ἡγείσθαι τὸν ὑποχείριον μηδ' εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας  
 καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἰσχύν,  
 ἐνθυμούμενον ὥς οὐ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 6 πράγμασιν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τύχαι. “ Δύναιο δ'  
 ἄν,” ἔφη, “ τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μαθεῖν ἐμοῦ,  
 ὃς ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει κράτιστός ποτε εἶναι τῶν  
 ἄλλων δοκῶν, νῦν ἔρημος καὶ ἄπολις καὶ ταπεινὸς

<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν Garrér : γοῦν O, οὖν Sintenis.

the only army which was then a match for the Romans was that of the Volscians, if these would agree together and make war upon them under an able general. He reasoned, therefore, that if he could prevail on the Volscians to receive him and to entrust to him the command of the war, his purpose would easily be accomplished. On the other hand, he was disturbed by the consciousness that he had often brought calamities upon them in battle and had forced many cities to forsake their alliance with them. However, he did not desist from the attempt because of the greatness of the danger, but resolved to encounter these very perils and suffer whatever might be the consequence. Having waited, therefore, for a night—and a dark one—he went to Antium, the most important city of the Volscians, at the hour when the inhabitants were at supper ; and going to the house of an influential man named Tullus Attius, who by reason of his birth, his wealth and his military exploits had a high opinion of himself and generally led the whole nation, he became his suppliant by sitting down at his hearth. Then, having related to him the dire straits which had forced him to take refuge with his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation and humanity toward a suppliant and no longer to regard as an enemy one who was in his power, nor to exhibit his strength against the unfortunate and the humbled, bearing in mind that the fortunes of men are subject to change. “ And this,” he said, “ you may learn most clearly from my own case. For though I was once looked upon as the most powerful of all men in the greatest city, I am now cast aside, forsaken, exiled and abased,

ἐρριμμένος, τοῦτο πείσομαι<sup>1</sup> ὃ τι ἂν ἐχθρῶ ὄντι σοι δοκῇ. ὑπισχνούμαι δέ σοι τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ποιήσιν Οὐολούσκους φίλος τῷ ἔθνει γενόμενος ὅσα κακὰ εἰργασάμην ἐχθρὸς ὢν. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο γινώσκεις περὶ ἐμοῦ, χρήσαι τῇ ὀργῇ παραχρήμα καὶ θάνατον χάρισαί μοι τὸν τάχιστον αὐτοχειρία τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ<sup>2</sup> καθιερεύσας τὸν ἱκέτην.”

II. Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἀναστήσας θαρρεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πεισόμενον, καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀφίξεως ἔφη, τιμὴν τινα οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι καὶ ταύτην ἀποφαινόμενος. Οὐολούσκους τε αὐτῷ πάντας ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσιν φίλους ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος· καὶ<sup>2</sup> οὐδεμίαν ἐψεύσατο τῶν ὑποσχέσεων. χρόνου δέ τινος οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος βουλευομένοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ σφᾶς, Μαρκίῳ τε καὶ Τύλλῳ, κινεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος αὐτίκα μάλα ἐβούλετο πᾶσαν τὴν Οὐολούσκων δύναμιν παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην χωρεῖν ἕως ἐστασίαζέ τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἀπολέμους εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος αἰτίαν πρῶτον ᾧετο δεῖν εὐσεβῇ καὶ δικαίαν ἐνστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, διδάσκων ὥς ἀπάσαις μὲν πράξεσι θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς κατὰ πολέμους, ὅσω μείζους τέ εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς ἀδήλους φιλοῦσι κατασκήπτειν τύχας. ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐολούσκοις ἐκεχειρίαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους

<sup>1</sup> πείσομαι Tauchnitz ed. : πεισόμενος O. Kiessling proposed ἐρριμμαι τοῦτο πεισόμενος.

<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτοῦ AB : σεαυτοῦ C, Jacoby.

and destined to suffer any treatment you, who are my enemy, shall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promise you that I will perform as great services for the Volscians, if I become their friend, as I occasioned calamities to them when I was their enemy. However, if you have any other purpose concerning me, let loose your resentment at once and grant me the speediest death by sacrificing the suppliant with your own hand and at your own hearth."

II. While he was yet speaking these words Tullus gave him his hand and, raising him from the hearth, bade him be assured that he should not be treated in any manner unworthy of his valour, and said he felt himself under great obligations to him for coming to him, declaring that he looked upon even this as no small honour. He promised him also that he would make all the Volscians his friends, beginning with those of his own city ; and not one of his promises did he fail to make good. Soon afterwards Marcius and Tullus conferred together in private and came to a decision to begin war against the Romans. Tullus proposed to put himself immediately at the head of all the Volscians and march on Rome while the Romans were still at odds and had generals averse to war. But Marcius insisted that they ought first to establish a righteous and just ground for war ; for he pointed out that the gods take a hand in all actions, and especially in those relating to war, in so far as these are of greater consequence than any others and their outcome is generally uncertain. It happened that there was at that time an armistice and a truce existing between the Romans and the Volscians and

οὔσαι σπονδαί τε διετεῖς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον χρόνῳ  
 3 γενόμεναι. “Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀπερισκέπτως,” ἔφη,  
 “καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιφέρῃς, τοῦ  
 λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος ἔσῃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον  
 οὐχ ἔξεις εὐμενές· ἐὰν δὲ περιμείνῃς<sup>1</sup> ἕως ἐκεῖνοι  
 τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν, ἀμύνεσθαι δόξεις καὶ λελυμέναις  
 σπονδαῖς βοηθεῖν. ὅπως δ’ ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ  
 ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄρξειαν παρασπονδεῖν, ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ δόξαιμεν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐπιφέρειν τὸν πόλε-  
 μον, ἐγὼ σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνεύρηκα. δεῖ δ’  
 ὑφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατηθέντας ἄρξαι τῆς παρα-  
 4 νομίας. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐξαπάτης, ὃν ἐγὼ τέως  
 μὲν ἀπόρρητον ἐφύλαττον ἀναμένων τὸν οἰκεῖον  
 αὐτοῦ καιρὸν, νῦν δὲ σοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἔργου  
 ἔχεσθαι θάττον ἐκφέρειν εἰς<sup>2</sup> μέσον ἀναγκάζομαι,  
 τοιόσδε ἐστίν· θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι μέλλουσι  
 καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγειν ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων σφόδρα  
 λαμπροὺς, ἀφίξονται τε κατὰ θέαν ἐπὶ τούτους  
 5 πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων. τοῦτον ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον  
 ἴθι καὶ σὺ καὶ Οὐολούσκων ὅσους δύνασαι πλείσ-  
 τους παρασκεύασον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν· ὅταν δ’ ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει γένη, τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τινά σοι φί-  
 λων κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ δι’ ἀπορ-  
 ρήτων εἰπεῖν ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ πόλει  
 Οὐολοῦσκοι νύκτωρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσι τὸ ἔρ-  
 γον ἄθρόοι. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἀκούσειαν  
 οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκβαλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως καὶ παρέξουσιν ἀφορμὴν δικαίας ὀργῆς.”

III. Ὡς δ’ ἤκουσε ταῦτα ὁ Τύλλος, ὑπερηγάσθη  
 τε καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τῆς στρατείας ὑπερβαλό-

<sup>1</sup> περιμείνῃς B : ἐπιμένῃς A.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς Reiske : ἐπὶ O.

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 2, 4-4, 4 cf. Livy ii. 37 f.



also a treaty for two years which they had made a short time before : “ If, therefore, you make war upon them inconsiderately and hastily,” he said, “ you will be to blame for the breaking of the treaty, and Heaven will not be propitious to you ; whereas, if you wait till they do this, you will seem to be defending yourselves and coming to the aid of a broken treaty. How this may be brought about and how they may be induced to violate the treaty first, while we shall seem to be waging a righteous and just war against them, I have discovered after long consideration. It is necessary that the Romans should be deceived by us, in order that they may be the first to commit unlawful acts. The nature of this deceit,<sup>1</sup> which I have hitherto kept secret while awaiting the proper occasion for its employment, but am now forced, because of your eagerness for action, to disclose sooner than I wished, is as follows. The Romans are intending to perform sacrifices and exhibit very magnificent games at vast expense, at which great numbers of strangers will be present as spectators. Wait for this occasion, and then not only go thither yourself, but engage as many of the Volscians as you can to go also and see the games. And when you are in Rome, bid one of your closest friends go to the consuls and inform them privately that the Volscians are intending to attack the city by night and that it is for this purpose that they have come to Rome in so great numbers. For you may be assured that if they hear this they will expel you Volscians from the city without further hesitation and furnish you with a ground for just resentment.”

III. When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleased, and letting that opportunity for his expedition pass,

μενός<sup>1</sup> περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐγίνετο τοῦ πολέμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς<sup>2</sup> καιρός, Ἰουλίου τε καὶ Πιναρίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἤδη παρειληφόντων, ἡ κρατίστη τῶν Οὐολούσκων νεότης ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, ὡς ὁ Τύλλος ἡξίου, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγώνων θέαν· καὶ κατεσκήνουν οἱ πλείους ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις οὐκ ἔχοντες καταγωγὰς ἐν οἰκίαις τε καὶ παρὰ ξένοις, καὶ ὁπότε διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν πορεύοιντο, κατὰ συστροφὰς καὶ ἐταιρίας ἀθρόοι διεξήεσαν, ὥστε καὶ λόγον ἤδη γίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑποψίας<sup>3</sup> ἀτόπους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσέρχεται τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου μηνυτής, ὡς ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέθετο, καὶ ὡς δὴ ἀπόρρητον πράξιν κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ἐχθροῖς μέλλων ἐκφέρειν ὄρκοις καταλαμβάνεται τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε τῆς αὐτὸς<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup> καὶ τοῦ μηδένα Οὐολούσκων μαθεῖν ὅστις ἦν ὁ τὴν μήνυσιν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιημένος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρει<sup>5</sup> τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς κατεψευσμένης μήνυσιν.

<sup>3</sup> ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀληθὴς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κληθεῖσα συνῆκτο, καὶ παραχθεὶς ὁ μηνυτής τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν λόγους. τοῖς δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει μεστὸν ὑποψίας τοσαύτην νεότητα ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔθνους διαφόρου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἐλθεῖν,<sup>6</sup> προσελθούσης δὲ μηνύσεως, ἥς τὴν ἀπάτην ἠγνόουν, ἰσχὺν βεβαίαν ἢ δόξα ἔλαβεν, ἐδόκει τε ἅπασιν ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἥλιον

<sup>1</sup> Enthoven : ἀναβαλόμενος O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρχῆς O : ἐορτῆς Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς B : om. A.

employed himself in preparing for the war. When the time for the beginning of the festival had come, Julius and Pinarius having already succeeded to the consulship, the flower of the Volscian youth came from every city, as Tullus requested, to see the games ; and the greater part of them were obliged to quarter themselves in sacred and public places, as they could not find lodgings in private houses and with friends. And when they walked in the streets, they went about in small groups and companies, so that there was already talk about them in the city and strange suspicions. In the mean time the informer suborned by Tullus, pursuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the consuls, and pretending that he was going to reveal a secret matter to his enemies against his own friends, bound the consuls by oaths, not only to insure his own safety, but also to insure that none of the Volscians should learn who had given the information against them. Thereupon he gave his information concerning the alleged plot. The consuls believed his story and immediately convened the senate, summoning the members individually ; and the informer, being brought before them and receiving their assurances, gave to them also the same account. The senators even long before this had looked upon it as a circumstance full of suspicion that such numbers of young men should come to see the games from a single nation which was hostile to them, and now that information too was given, the duplicity of which they did not perceive, their opinion was turned into certainty. It was their unanimous decision, therefore, to send the men out of the city

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ Post : αὐτοῦ O, Jacoby. <sup>5</sup> Reiske : ἐπιφέρει O.

<sup>6</sup> Kiessling : προσελθεῖν O, παρελθεῖν Sylburg, Jacoby.

δύναι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πεισθεῖσιν ἐπικηρύξαι θάνατον, ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἵνα χωρὶς ὕβρεως καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, τοὺς ὑπάτους.

IV. Ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυττον διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιόντες ἀπιέναι<sup>1</sup> Οὐολούσκους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα μάλα κατὰ μίαν ἅπαντας ἐξιόντας πύλην τὴν καλουμένην Καπυῖνην, ἕτεροι δὲ παρέπεμπον τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις· ἔνθα μάλιστα ὥφθη ὅσον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ ὡς ἀκμαῖον ἅπαν ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἐξιόντων πύλην. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἐξῆει διὰ ταχέων καὶ καταλαβὼν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον  
<sup>2</sup> ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς ὑστεροῦντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντες συνήχθησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενος πολλῇ καταβοῇ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐχρήσατο, δεινὴν καὶ ἀφόρητον ἀποφαίνων τὴν ὕβριν ἣν ὑβρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦσαν Οὐολοῦσκοι μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐξελαθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ λέγειν ἡξίου ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἕκαστον καὶ πράττειν ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὕβρεως Ῥωμαῖοι δίκας παρασχόντες τῆς παρανομίας. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παραθήξας ἀνθρώπους ἀγανακτοῦντας  
<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὥς δ' ἀπαλλαγέντες εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἐπὶ μείζον ἐξαίροντες τὰ γενόμενα, ἡγανάκτει τε πᾶσα πόλις καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἡδύνατο· δια-

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : ἀπεῖναι O.

<sup>1</sup> The Porta Capena. The real etymology of the name Capena is not known.

before sunset and to order proclamation to be made that all who did not obey should be put to death ; and they decreed that the consuls should see to it that their departure took place without insult and in safety.

IV. After the senate had passed this vote some went through the streets making proclamation that the Volscians should depart from the city immediately and that they should all go out by a single gate, the one called the Capuan gate,<sup>1</sup> while others together with the consuls escorted them on their departure. And then particularly, when they went out of the city at the same time and by the same gate, it was seen how numerous they were and how fit all were for service. First of them to depart was Tullus, who went out in haste, and taking his stand in a suitable place not far from the city, picked up those who lagged behind. And when they were all gathered together, he called an assembly and inveighed at length against the Roman people, declaring that it was an outrageous and intolerable insult that the Volscians had received at their hands in being the only strangers to be expelled from the city. He asked that each man should report this treatment in his own city and take measures to put a stop to the insolence of the Romans by punishing them for their lawless behaviour. After he had spoken thus and sharpened the resentment of the Volscians, who were already exasperated at the usage they had met with, he dismissed the assembly. When they returned to their several cities and each related to his fellow citizens the insult they had received, exaggerating what had occurred, every city was angered and unable to restrain its resentment ; and sending ambas-

πρεσβευομένη δ' ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλην εἰς μίαν ἀγορὰν ἅπαντας<sup>1</sup> ἡξίου Οὐολούσκους συνιέναι,<sup>2</sup> ἵνα κοινῇ  
 4 χρῆσαιτο γνώμῃ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τύλλου μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, καὶ συν-  
 ἦσαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οἳ τε ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ πολὺς ἄλλος ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ἐχέτρανῶν πόλιν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐν καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι συνόδου<sup>3</sup> ταῖς ἄλλαις ἢ πόλιν. ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων, οὓς εἶπον οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει, ψῆφος ἀνεδόθη τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ ἦν ἡ νικῶσα γνώμη κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς Ῥωμαίων ἀρξάντων τῆς περὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρανομίας.

V. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τίνα χρή πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς τρόπον προθέντων σκοπεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι παρελθόντων ὁ Τύλλος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς καλεῖν τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου πυνθάνεσθαι πῶς ἂν ἡ Ῥωμαίων καταλυθείη δύναμις· κράτιστα γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰδέναι πῇ τε κάμνει τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ πῇ μάλιστα ἔρρωται. ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐβόων καλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἧς ἐβούλετο ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος ἀνέστη κατηφῆς καὶ δεδακρυμένος καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον τοιούτους διέθετο λόγους·

2 “ Εἰ μὲν ἡγούμεν ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὅμοια γινώσκειν περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑπελάμβανον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπολογεῖσθαι· ἐνθυμούμενος δ', ὥς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἦθεσιν εἰκός, εἶναί τινας οἷς παραστήσεται δόξα οὔτε ἀληθῆς οὔτε προσήκουσα περὶ ἐμοῦ,<sup>4</sup> ὥς οὐκ ἂν

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling : πάντας O.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : ἰέναι O.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι συνόδου Reiske, κάλλιστα κεῖσθαι



sadors to one another, they demanded that all the Volscians should meet together in a single assembly in order to adopt a common plan concerning war. All this was done chiefly at the instigation of Tullus. And the authorities from every city together with a great multitude of other people assembled at Ecetra ; for this city seemed the most conveniently situated with respect to the others for a general assembly. After many speeches had been made by the men in power in each city, the votes of all present were taken ; and the view which carried was to begin war, since the Romans had first transgressed in the matter of the treaty.

V. When the authorities had proposed to the assembly to consider in what manner they ought to carry on the war against them, Tullus came forward and advised them to summon Marcius and inquire of him how the power of the Romans might be overthrown, since he knew better than any man both the weakness and the strength of the commonwealth. This met with their approval, and at once they all cried out to summon the man. Then Marcius, having found the opportunity he desired, rose up with downcast looks and with tears in his eyes and after a brief pause spoke as follows :

~ “ If I thought you all entertained the same opinion of my misfortune, I should not think it necessary to make any defence of it ; but when I consider that, as is to be expected among many men of different characters, there are some to whom will occur the notion, neither true nor deserved by me, that the

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συνόδου Kayser : ἐν (om. ἐν Ba) καλλίστη κείσθαι συνόδῳ AB, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> περὶ ἐμοῦ B : om. R.

ἄτερ αἰτίας ἀληθοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἐξήλασέ με ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, παντὸς μάλιστα οἶομαι δεῖν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς φυγῆς ἐν κοινῷ πρὸς  
 3 ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθέ μου, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ οἱ κράτιστα ἐγνωκότες, ἃ πέπονθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὡς οὐ προσήκόν μοι ταύτης πεπεύραμαι τῆς τύχης διεξιόντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ποθεῖτε ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἀκούσαι πρὶν ὁποῖός τις εἴμι ὁ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδειξόμενος<sup>1</sup> ἐξετάσαι. ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν, κἂν πρόσωθεν ἄρξωμαι, λόγος.

4 “ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολίτευμα ἦν μικτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τε βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας· ἔπειτα ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡξίου ποιεῖν. συστάντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡγεμόνες ἐκείνον μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ κατέσχον ἀρίστην καὶ σωφρονεστάτην, ὡς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι, καταστησάμενοι πολιτείαν. χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον τοῦτ' ἔτος, οἱ πενέστατοί τε καὶ ἀργότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν πονηροῖς χρησάμενοι προστάταις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐξύβρισαν καὶ τελευτῶντες καταλύειν τὴν ἀριστο-  
 5 κρατίαν ἐπεχείρουν. ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ τῆς βουλῆς προεστηκότες ἤχθοντο καὶ ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὕβρεως οἱ κινοῦντες τὴν πολιτείαν σκοπεῖν ἡξίουں, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικούς ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων<sup>3</sup> Ἀππίος ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἄξιος ἔνεκα<sup>4</sup> ἐπαινέισθαι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων

<sup>1</sup> Steph. : προσδειξόμενος AB.

<sup>2</sup> μικτὸν B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske : πρεσβυτάτων O.



people would not have banished me from my country without a real and just cause, I think it necessary above all things first to clear myself publicly before you all in the matter of my banishment. But have patience with me, I adjure you by the gods, even those of you who are best acquainted with the facts, while I relate what I have suffered from my enemies and show that I have not deserved this misfortune which has befallen me; and do not be anxious to hear what you must do before you have inquired what sort of man I am who am now going to express my opinion. The account I shall give of these matters will be brief, even though I begin from far back.

“The original constitution of the Romans was a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy. Afterwards Tarquinius, their last king, thought fit to make his government a tyranny; for which reason the leading men of the aristocracy, combining against him, expelled him from the state, and taking upon themselves the administration of public affairs, formed such a system of government as all men acknowledge to be the best and wisest. Not long ago, however, but only two or three years since, the poorest and idlest of the citizens, having bad men as their leaders, not only committed many other outrages, but at last endeavoured to overthrow the aristocracy. At this all the leaders of the senate were grieved and thought they ought to consider how the insolence of these disturbers of the government could be stopped; but more active in this regard than the other aristocrats, were, of the older senators, Appius, a man deserving of praise on many accounts, and,

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<sup>4</sup> ἔνεκα ΑCmg, ἔνικα B, om. C : ἔνεκεν Jacoby.

ἐγώ· καὶ λόγους ἐποιούμεθα διὰ παντὸς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλευθέρους, οὐ δῆμῳ πολεμοῦντες ἀλλὰ πονηροκρατίαν ὑφορώμενοι, οὐδὲ καταδουλώσασθαι τινα βυλόμενοι<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαίων ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον ἅπασιν ἀξιοῦντες ὑπάρχειν,<sup>2</sup> τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεδόσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι.

VI. “Ταῦθ’ ὁρῶντες οἱ πονηρότατοι τοῦ πλήθους ἐκεῖνοι προστάται πρώτους ἔγνωσαν ἡμᾶς τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐναντιουμένους σφίσιν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἐπίφθονόν τε καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα γένηται, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ νεωτέρου τε καὶ εὐμεταχειριστοτέρου ἀρξάμενοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἄκριτόν με ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπολέσαι, ἔπειτα ἔκδοτον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἡξίου ἐπὶ θανάτῳ λαβεῖν· ἀποτυχόντες δ’ ἀμφοτέρων προὔκαλέσαντο ἐπὶ δίκην, ἣν αὐτοὶ δικάσειν ἔμελλον, τυραννίδος ἐπιβαλόντες αἰτίαν.  
<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ’ ἔμαθον, ὅτι δῆμῳ τύραννος οὐδεὶς πολεμεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων συστάς, ἀλλὰ τὰναντία μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸ κράτιστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ μέρος· δικαστήριόν τε οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν πάτριον ἀπέδωκάν μοι τὴν λοχίτιν καλέσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ’ ὃ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι πονηρότατον εἶναι δικαστήριον<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον ἔχειν ἔμελλον οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύοντες βίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ τὰ κοινὰ σώζεσθαι  
<sup>3</sup> βουλομένων. τοσοῦτο δ’ ἄρα μοι περιῆν τοῦ μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> βυλόμενοι B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπάρχειν Reiske : ἔχειν R, om. B.

<sup>3</sup> δικαστήριον O : om. Reudler, Jacoby.

<sup>1</sup> The tribunes.

<sup>2</sup> The aristocracy.

of the younger men, I myself. And the speeches which on every occasion we made before the senate were frank, not by way of making war upon the populace, but from a suspicion we had of government by the worst elements ; nor again from a wish to enslave any of the Romans, but from a desire that the liberty of all might be preserved and the management of public affairs be entrusted to the best men.

VI. " This being observed by those most unprincipled leaders of the populace,<sup>1</sup> they resolved to remove first out of their way the two of us who most openly opposed them—not, however, by attacking us both at once, lest the attempt should appear invidious and odious, but beginning with me who was the younger and the easier to be dealt with. In the first place, then, they endeavoured to destroy me without a trial ; and after that they demanded that I be delivered up by the senate in order to be put to death. But having failed of both purposes, they summoned me to a trial in which they themselves were to be my judges, and charged me with aiming at tyranny. They had not learned even this much—that no tyrant makes war upon the populace by allying himself with the best men,<sup>2</sup> but, on the contrary, destroys the best element in the state with the aid of the populace. And they did not give me the tribunal that was traditional, by summoning the centuriate assembly, but rather a tribunal which all admit to be most unprincipled—one set up in my case and mine alone—in which the working class and vagabonds and those who plot against the possessions of others were sure to prevail over good and just men and such as desire the safety of the commonwealth. This profit, then, and no more did I gain from my

ἀδικεῖν, ὥστ' ἐν ὄχλῳ κρινόμενος, οὗ τὸ πλεόν  
 μισόχρηστον ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐχθρὸν ἐμοί, δυσὶ  
 μόνον ἐάλων ψήφοις, ἀποτιθεμένων τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 τῶν δημάρχων εἰ μὴ καταδικασθείην ἐγώ, καὶ τὰ  
 ἔσχατα πείσεσθαι πρὸς ἐμοῦ λεγόντων καὶ πάσῃ  
 σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα κατ' ἐμοῦ  
 4 χρησαμένων. τοιαῦτα δὴ πεπονθὼς ἐγὼ πρὸς τῶν  
 ἑμαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμην τὸν λοιπὸν  
 ἔσεσθαι μοι βίον, εἰ μὴ λάβοιμι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας·  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξόν μοι ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως, εἴτ' ἐν ταῖς  
 Λατίνων πόλεσιν ἡβουλόμεν κατὰ τὸ συγγενές, εἴτ'  
 ἐν ταῖς νεοκτίστοις ἃς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπώκισαν,  
 οὐκ ἡβουλήθην, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δὲ κατέφυγον, οὓς ἡπι-  
 στάμην<sup>1</sup> πλεῖστά τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡδίκημένους  
 καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθομένους, ἵνα κοινῇ μεθ'  
 ὑμῶν τιμωρησαίμην αὐτούς, ὅση μοι δύναμις,  
 λόγοις τε, ἔνθα δεῖ λόγων, καὶ ἔργοις, ὅταν ἔργων  
 δέῃ. χάριν τε ὑμῖν μεγάλην<sup>2</sup> οἶδα τῆς τε ὑποδοχῆς  
 μου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς τιμῆς ἣ με τιμᾶτε, οὐθὲν  
 οὔτε μνησικακήσαντες οὔτε ὑπολογισάμενοι ὦν  
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἐπάθετε<sup>3</sup> κατὰ τοὺς  
 πολέμους.

VII. “Φέρε δὴ, τίς ἂν εἶην ἀνὴρ, εἰ δόξης καὶ  
 τιμῶν ὦν προσῆκέ μοι παρὰ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πολίταις  
 τυγχάνειν πρὸς<sup>4</sup> τῶν εὖ παθόντων ἀποστερηθεῖς,  
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πατρίδος τε καὶ οἴκου καὶ φίλων  
 καὶ θεῶν πατρώων καὶ τάφων προγονικῶν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> οὓς ἡπιστάμην R : ἡπιστάμην γὰρ A.

<sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν μεγάλην Reiske, τὴν μεγάλην ὑμῖν Jacoby : τὴν με-  
 γάλην AB.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἐπάθετε Jacoby, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔτι  
 πολεμίου ὄντος ἐπάθετε Reiske, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερόν γε ἐπάθετε  
 Kiessling : ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ποτὲ ὄντες ἐπάθετε AB.

innocence, that, though tried by the mob, of which the greater part were haters of the virtuous and for that reason hostile to me, I was condemned by two votes only, even though the tribunes threatened to resign their power if I were acquitted, alleging that they expected to suffer the worst at my hands, and though they displayed all eagerness and zeal against me during the trial. After meeting with such treatment at the hands of my fellow citizens I felt that the rest of my life would not be worth living unless I took revenge upon them ; and for this reason, when I was at liberty to live free from vexations either in any of the Latin cities I pleased, because of our ties of kinship, or in the colonies lately planted by our fathers, I was unwilling to do so, but took refuge with you, though I knew you had suffered ever so many wrongs at the hands of the Romans and had conceived the greatest resentment against them, in order that in conjunction with you I might take revenge upon them to the utmost of my power, both by words where words were wanted, and by deeds, where deeds were wanted. And I feel very grateful to you for receiving me, and still more for the honour you show me, without either resenting or taking into account the injuries which you received from me, your erstwhile enemy, during the wars.

VII. " Come now, what kind of man should I be if, deprived as I am of the glory and honours I ought to be receiving from my fellow citizens to whom I have rendered great services, and, in addition to this, driven away from my country, my family, my friends, from the gods and sepulchres of my ancestors and

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<sup>4</sup> Cobet : *παρὰ* O, Jacoby, *ὑπὸ* Prou.

παντὸς ἄλλου ἀπελαθεὶς ἀγαθοῦ, παρ' ὑμῖν δ' ἅπαντα ταῦτα εὐρών, οἷς ἐκείνων χάριν ἐπολέμουν, εἰ' μὴ γενοίμην χαλεπὸς μὲν οἷς ἀντὶ πολιτῶν ἐχθροῖς κέχρημαι, χρηστὸς δ' οἷς ἀντὶ πολεμίων φίλοις; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα θείην ἀν' ὅστις μήτε τὸ πολεμοῦν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχει μήτε τὸ σῶζον ἑαυτὸν δι' εὐνοίας. πατρίδα τε ἡγοῦμαι οὐ τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην με πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἧς ἀλλότριος ὢν πολίτης γέγονα, γῆν τε οὐκ ἐν ἧ ἡδίκημαι  
 2 φίλην, ἀλλ' ἐν ἧ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχω. καὶ ἂν θεὸς τε συλλαμβάνῃ καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὥς<sup>2</sup> εἰκὸς πρόθυμα ἦ, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν ἐλπίζω γενήσεσθαι μεταβολήν.<sup>3</sup> εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι πολλῶν ἤδη πολεμίων<sup>4</sup> πειραθέντες Ῥωμαῖοι οὐθένας μᾶλλον ἔδεισαν ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐφ' ᾧ μᾶλλον σπουδάζοντες διατελοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἀσθενὲς ἀπο-  
 3 δείξουσιν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν πολέμῳ λαβόντες ὑμῶν ἔχουσι<sup>5</sup> πόλεις, τὰς δὲ φιλίας ἐλπίδι παρακρουσάμενοι, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἐν ἅπαντες γενόμενοι κοινὸν ἐξενέγκητε κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον. εἰάν οὖν τὰναντία ὑμεῖς ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι διατελῆτε καὶ μίαν ἅπαντες ἔχητε περὶ<sup>6</sup> τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ὃ ποιεῖτε νυνί, ραδίως αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος παύσετε.

VIII. “Ὁν δὲ τρόπον ἀγωνιεῖσθε καὶ πῶς χρήσεσθε τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὴ γνώμην ἀξιοῦτέ με ἀποφύνασθαι, εἴτ' ἐμπειρίαν μοι μαρτυροῦντες εἴτ' εὐνοίαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρω, φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν παραινῶ

<sup>1</sup> εἰ B by correction : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> ὥς Steph. : om. AB.

<sup>3</sup> μεταβολήν O : τὴν μεταβολήν Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : πολέμων O.

<sup>5</sup> ἔχουσι Steph. : ἀποδείξουσιν ABC.

<sup>6</sup> περὶ added by Kiessling.



from every enjoyment, and if, finding all these things among you against whom I made war for their sake, I should not become harsh toward those whom I have found enemies instead of fellow citizens, and helpful to those whom I have found friends instead of enemies? For my part, I could not count as a real man anyone who feels neither anger against those who make war upon him nor affection for those who seek his preservation. And I regard as my fatherland, not that state which has renounced me, but the one of which I, an alien, have become a citizen; and as a friendly land, not the one in which I have been wronged, but that in which I find safety. And if Heaven lends a hand and your assistance is as eager as I have reason to expect, I have hopes that there will be a great and sudden change. For you must know that the Romans, having already had experience of many enemies, have feared none more than you, and that there is nothing they continue to seek more earnestly than the means of weakening your nation. And for this reason they hold a number of your cities which they have either taken by war or deluded with the hope of their friendship, in order that you may not all unite and engage in a common war against them. If, therefore, you will strive unceasingly to counteract their designs and will all be of one mind about war, as you are now, you will easily put an end to their power.

VIII. "As to the manner in which you will wage the contest and how you will handle the situation, since you ask me to express my opinion—whether this be a tribute to my experience or to my goodwill or to both—I shall give it without concealing anything. In the first place, therefore, I advise you to

σκοπεῖν ὅπως εὐσεβῇ καὶ δικαίαν πορίσῃσθε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν. εὐσεβῆς δὲ καὶ δικαία τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις ἥτις ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἅμα συμ-  
 2 φέρουσα ὑμῖν, ἀκούσατέ μου. Ῥωμαίοις ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξασα γῆ βραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ λυπρά, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ κτήτος, ἣν τοὺς περιοίκους ἀφελόμενοι κατέχουσι,<sup>1</sup> πολλή καὶ ἀγαθή· καὶ εἰ τῶν ἡδικομένων ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξιοῖεν ἀπολαβεῖν, οὐδὲν οὕτως μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενὲς οὐδ' ἄπορον ὥς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄστρῳ γενήσεται. τούτου δ' οἶομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἄρξαι.  
 3 πέμπετε οὖν πρέσβεις ὥς αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντες ἅς κατέχουσιν ὑμῶν πόλεις καὶ ὅσα τείχη ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρα γῇ ἐνετειχίσαντο ἀξιοῦντες ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βία σφετερισάμενοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχουσι πείθοντες ἀποδιδόναι. πολέμου δὲ μήπω ἄρχετε πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποκρίσεις. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιήσῃτε, δυεῖν ὧν βούλεσθε ὑπάρξει θάτερον ὑμῖν· ἢ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολήψεσθε ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης, ἢ καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν πρόφασιν εἰληφότες ἔσεσθε τοῦ πολέμου. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας τούτου πολεμεῖν, ἅπαντες ἂν  
 4 ὁμολογήσουσιν<sup>2</sup> εἶναι καλόν. φέρε δὴ, τί ποιήσῃν οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίους ταῦθ' ὑμῶν προελομένων; πότερον ἀποδώσειν τὰ χωρία ὑμῖν; καὶ τί κωλύσει πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀποστήναι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; ἥξουσι γὰρ Αἰκανοί τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι γῆν ἀποληψόμενοι. ἢ καθέξειν τὰ χωρία καὶ μηθὲν τῶν δικαίων

<sup>1</sup> κατέχουσι added by Sylburg, ἔχουσι by Cmg, Sintenis.

<sup>2</sup> ἂν ὁμολογήσουσιν B : ἀνομολογήσουσιν A, ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν Reiske.



consider how you may provide yourselves with a righteous and just pretext for the war. And what pretext for war will be not only righteous and just but also profitable to you at the same time, you shall now learn from me. The land which originally belonged to the Romans is of small extent and barren, but the acquired land which they possess as a result of robbing their neighbours is large and fertile ; and if each of the injured nations should demand the return of the land that is theirs, nothing would be so insignificant, so weak, and so helpless as the city of Rome. In doing this I think you ought to take the lead. Send ambassadors to them, therefore, to demand back your cities which they are holding, to ask that they evacuate all the forts they have erected in your country, and to persuade them to restore everything else belonging to you which they have appropriated by force. But do not begin war till you have received their answer. For if you follow this advice, you will obtain one of two things you desire : you will either recover all that belongs to you without danger and expense or will have found an honourable and a just pretext for war. For not to covet the possessions of others, but to demand back what is one's own and, failing to obtain this, to declare war, will be acknowledged by all men to be an honourable proceeding. Well then, what do you think the Romans will do if you choose this course ? Do you think they will restore the places to you ? And if they do, what is to hinder them from relinquishing everything that belongs to others ? For the Aequians, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians, and many others will come each to get back their own land. Or do you think they will retain these places and refuse all your just demands ?

ποιήσιν; ὅπερ ἐγὼ νομίζω. οὐκοῦν ἀδικεῖσθαι  
 πρότεροι<sup>1</sup> λέγοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρήσετε καὶ συμμαχοὺς ἔξετε ὅσοι  
 τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀπεγνώκασιν ἄλλως ἂν  
 5 ἔτι αὐτὰ ἢ πολεμοῦντες οὐκ ἀπολήψεσθαι. κράτι-  
 στος δ' ὁ καιρὸς καὶ οἶος οὐχ ἕτερος ἐπιθέσθαι  
 Ῥωμαίοις, ὃν ἡ τύχη τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οὐδ' ἂν  
 ἐλπισθέντα παρεσκεύασεν, ἐν ᾧ στασιάζουσι καὶ  
 ὑποπτεύουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσιν ἀ-  
 πείρους πολέμου. ἃ μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι ἔδει λό-  
 γοις καὶ παραινεῖν φίλοις, μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ  
 πίστεως εἰρημένα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἃ δὲ  
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστοτε προορᾶσθαι τε καὶ  
 μηχανᾶσθαι δεήσει, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῆς δυνάμεως  
 6 ἐπιτρέψατε διανοεῖσθαι. πρόθυμον γὰρ καὶ τοῦμόν  
 ἔσται ἐν ᾧ ἂν με τάττητε τόπῳ, καὶ πειράσο-  
 μαι μηδενὸς εἶναι χείρων μήτε στρατιώτου μήτε  
 λοχαγοῦ μήτε ἡγεμόνος· ἀλλὰ καταχρησθῆ μοι  
 λαβόντες ὅπου ἂν μέλλω τι ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσιν, καὶ  
 εὖ ἴστε ὅτι, εἰ πολεμῶν ὑμῖν μεγάλα βλάπτειν  
 δυνατὸς ἦν, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ἀγωνιζόμενος μεγάλα  
 δυνήσομαι ὠφελεῖν."

IX. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐο-  
 λούσκοι λέγοντός τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔτι δῆλοι ἦσαν  
 ἀγάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο, με-  
 γάλῃ βοῇ πάντες ἐπесήμηναν ὥς τὰ κράτιστα  
 ὑποθεμένῳ<sup>2</sup> λόγον τε οὐθενὶ προθέντες ἐπικυροῦσι  
 τὴν γνώμην. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόγματος εὐθύς ἐξ  
 ἐκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀνδρας ἐλό-

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : πρότερον O.

<sup>2</sup> Reudler : ὑποτιθεμένῳ Ba, ὑποτιθεμένου ABb.

That is my opinion. Protesting, therefore, that they wronged you first, you will of necessity have recourse to arms, and you will have for your allies all who, having been deprived of their possessions, despair of recovering them by any other means than by war. This is a most favourable and a unique opportunity which Fortune has provided for the wronged nations, an opportunity for which they could not even have hoped, of attacking the Romans while they are divided and suspicious of one another and while they have generals who are inexperienced in war. These, then, are the considerations which it was fitting to suggest in words and urge upon friends, and I have offered them in all goodwill and sincerity. But when it comes to the actual deeds, what it will be necessary to foresee and contrive upon each occasion, leave the consideration of those matters to the commanders of the forces. For my zeal also shall not be wanting in whatever post you may place me, and I shall endeavour to do my duty with no less bravery than any common soldier or captain or general. Pray take me and use me wherever I may be of service to you, and be assured that if, when I fought against you, I was able to do you great mischief, I shall also be able, when I fight on your side, to be of great service to you."

IX. Thus Marcius spoke. And the Volscians not only made it clear while he was yet speaking that they were pleased with his words, but, after he had done, they all with a great shout signified that they found his advice most excellent; and permitting no one else to speak, they adopted his proposal. After the decree had been drawn up they at once chose the most important men out of every city and sent them

μενοι πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν· τῷ δὲ Μαρκίῳ ψηφίζονται βουλῆς τε μετουσίαν ἐν ἀπάσῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐξεῖναι πανταχόσε μετιέναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποσα τιμιώτατα ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 2 μετέχειν. καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὰς Ῥωμαίων ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμεῖναι, πάντες ἔργου εἶχοντο παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια· ὅσοι τε ἦσάν αὐτῶν ἄθυμοι τέως κακωθέντες ἐν ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις, τότε πάντες ἐπερρώσθησαν<sup>1</sup> ὥς τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθαιρήσοντας  
 3 ἰσχύν. οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἔλεγον ὅτι Οὐολούσκοις περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον εἶναι φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὸ πιστὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἀπέφαινον, εἰ κομίσαιντο γῆν τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ πόλεις ἅς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφηρέθησαν· ἄλλως δ' οὔτε εἰρήνην οὔτε φιλότητα βεβαίαν ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ ἀδικούμενον αἰεὶ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι φύσει. ἡξίουں τε μὴ καταστήσαι σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου τῶν δικαίων ἀποτυγχάνοντας.

X. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπον οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐβουλευόντο κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ σύνεδροι μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔκριναν ἅς χρὴ ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι, καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον ταύτην ἔδοσαν τὴν ἀπόφασιν· “Οὐ λανθάνετε ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐολούσκοι, φιλίας μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, πρόφασιν δ' εὐπρεπῇ λαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου. ἃ γὰρ ἤκετε παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτοῦντες, καλῶς

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling : ἐρρώσθησαν O.

to Rome as ambassadors. As for Marcius, they voted that he should be a member of the senate in every city and have the privilege of standing for magistracies everywhere, and should share in all the other honours that were most highly prized among them. Then, without waiting for the Romans' answer, they all set to work and employed themselves in warlike preparations ; and all of them who had hitherto been dejected because of their defeats in the previous battles now took courage, feeling confident that they would overthrow the power of the Romans. In the mean time the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, upon being introduced into the senate, said that the Volscians were very desirous that their complaints against the Romans should be settled and that for the future they should be friends and allies without fraud or deceit. And they declared that it would be a sure pledge of friendship if they received back the lands and the cities which had been taken from them by the Romans ; otherwise there would be neither peace nor secure friendship between them, since the injured party is always by nature an enemy to the aggressor. And they asked the Romans not to reduce them to the necessity of making war because of their failure to obtain justice.

X. When the ambassadors had thus spoken, the senators ordered them to withdraw, after which they consulted by themselves. Then, when they had determined upon the answer they ought to make, they called them back into the senate and gave this decision : " We are not unaware, Volscians, that it is not friendship you want, but that you wish to find a specious pretext for war. For you well know that you will never obtain what you have come to demand

ἐπίστασθε οὐδέποτε ληψόμενοι· χρήζετε γὰρ ἀδί-  
 2 κων τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν δόντες ἡμῖν  
 τὰ χωρία ἔπειτα μεταδόξαν<sup>1</sup> ὑμῖν νῦν ἀπαιτεῖτε,  
 ἀδικεῖσθε μὴ κομιζόμενοι, εἰ δὲ πολέμῳ ἀφαιρε-  
 θέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ὄντες κύριοι, ἀδικεῖτε τῶν  
 ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίεμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ κρατίστας ἡγού-  
 μεθα κτήσεις ἅς ἂν πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες λάβωμεν,  
 οὔτε πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι νόμον τόνδε οὔτε  
 αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἡγούμενοι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ  
 θεῶν· ἅπαντάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήνας καὶ βαρβάρους  
 εἰδότες αὐτῷ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίημεν ὑμῖν  
 μαλακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἀποσταίημεν ἔτι τῶν δορι-  
 3 κτήτων. πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν εἴη κακότης, εἴ τις ἅ μετ'  
 ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐκθήσατο, ταῦτα ὑπὸ μωρίας  
 τε καὶ δειλίας ἀφαιρεθείη. πολεμεῖν τε οὔτε μὴ  
 βουλομένους ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζομεν, οὔτε προθυμου-  
 μένους παραιτούμεθα· ἂν δ' ἄρξησθε, ἀμυνούμεθα.  
 ταῦτα Οὐολούσκοις ἀπαγγέλλετε καὶ λέγετε ὅτι  
 λήψονται μὲν πρότεροι τὰ ὅπλα ἐκεῖνοι, θήσομεν  
 δ' ἡμεῖς ὕστεροι."

XI. Ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες  
 ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Οὐολούσκων. συναχ-  
 θείσης οὖν αὖθις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τοῦτο κυροῦται  
 δόγμα κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθνους προειπεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τὸν  
 πόλεμον. ἔπειτα αἰροῦνται στρατηγούς αὐτοκρά-  
 τορας τοῦ πολέμου Τύλλον τε καὶ Μάρκιον δυ-  
 νάμεις τε ψηφίζονται καταγράφειν καὶ χρήματα  
 εἰσφέρειν καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευάσασθαι ὅσων ὑπ-  
 2 ἐλάβανον δεήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ. μελλούσης δὲ  
 διαλύεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ὁ Μάρκιος ἔφη<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> μεταδόξαν B : δόξαν R.

<sup>2</sup> ἔφη O : ἔφησεν Jacoby.



of us, since you desire things that are unjust and impossible. If, indeed, having made a present to us of these places, you now, having changed your minds, demand them back, you are suffering a wrong if you do not recover them ; but if, having been deprived of them by war and no longer having any claim to them, you demand them back, you are doing wrong in coveting the possessions of others. As for us, we regard as in the highest degree our possessions those that we gain through victory in war. We are not the first who have established this law, nor do we regard it as more a human than a divine institution. Knowing, too, that all nations, both Greeks and barbarians, make use of this law, we will never show any sign of weakness to you or relinquish any of our conquests hereafter. For it would be great baseness for one to lose through folly and cowardice what one has acquired by valour and courage. We neither force you to go to war against your will nor deprecate war if you are eager for it ; but if you begin it, we shall defend ourselves. Return this answer to the Volscians, and tell them that, though they are the first to take up arms, we shall be the last to lay them down."

XI. The ambassadors,<sup>1</sup> having received this answer, reported it to the Volscian people. Another assembly was accordingly called and a decree of the whole nation was passed to declare war against the Romans. After this they appointed Tullus and Marcius generals for the war with full power and voted to levy troops, to raise money,<sup>2</sup> and to prepare everything else they thought would be necessary for the war. When the assembly was about to be dismissed, Marcius rose up

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 11-13 *cf.* Livy ii. 39, 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> That is, by war taxes (*εἰσφοραί*).

“ Ἄ μὲν ἐψήφισται τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν ἔχει καλῶς, καὶ γινέσθω κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἕκαστα καιρόν· ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα μέλλετε καταγράφειν καὶ τὰλλα εὐτρεπίζειν ἔξοντά τινας, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἀσχολίας καὶ διατριβάς, ἐγὼ καὶ Τύλλος ἔργου ἐχώμεθα. ὅσοις οὖν ὑμῶν βουλομένοις ἐστὶ προνομεῦσαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι λείαν, ἵτε σὺν ἡμῖν. ὑποδέχομαι δ’ ὑμῖν, εἰάν θεὸς συλλάβῃ, πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς δώσειν ὠφελείας. 3 ἔτι γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοί εἰσι Ῥωμαῖοι δύναμιν οὕτω συνεστηκυῖαν ὀρώντες ὑμετέραν, ὥστε ἀδεῶς ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει πᾶσαν ὅσῃ ἂν βουλώμεθα τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας καταδραμεῖν.”

XII. Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐξήγουν οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ ταχέων, πρὶν ἔκπυστα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ βουλευόμενα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενοι στρατιὰν ἐκούσιον· ἥς μέρος μὲν ὁ Τύλλος ἔχων εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ἵνα περισπάσειε τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ Μάρκιος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν 2 Ῥωμαίων ἦλασεν. οἷα δ’ ἀπροσδοκήτου τοῦ<sup>1</sup> κακοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν διατρίβουσιν ἐπιπεσόντος πολλὰ μὲν ἐάλω σώματα Ῥωμαίων ἐλεύθερα, πολλὰ δ’ ἀνδράποδα, βοῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων χρήμα οὐκ ὀλίγον· σίτος τε ὅσος ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις χώρα<sup>2</sup> γεωργεῖται τὰ μὲν ἡρπᾶσθη, τὰ δὲ διεφθάρη. τελευτῶντες γὰρ καὶ πῦρ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς φέροντες ἐνέβαλλον Οὐολοῦσκοι, ὥστε πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴδ’ ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὰς δύνασθαι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ added by Grasberger.

<sup>2</sup> Sintenis : χωρία B, τὰ χωρία A.



and said : “ What your league has voted is all well and good ; and let each provision be carried out at the proper season. But while you are planning to enrol your armies and making other preparations which, in all probability, will involve some trouble and delay, let Tullus and me set to work. As many of you, therefore, as wish to plunder the enemy’s territory and to gain much booty, come with us. I undertake, with the assistance of Heaven, to give you many rich spoils. For the Romans, observing that your forces have not yet been assembled, are as yet unprepared ; so that we shall have an opportunity of overrunning as large a part of their country as we please without molestation.”

XII. The Volscians having approved of this proposal also, the generals marched out in haste at the head of a numerous army of volunteers before the Romans were informed of their plans. With a part of this force Tullus invaded the territory of the Latins, in order to cut off from the enemy any assistance from that quarter ; and with the remainder Marcius marched against the Romans’ territory. As the calamity fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken and many slaves and no small number of oxen, beasts of burden, and other cattle ; as for the corn that was found there, the iron tools and the other implements with which the land is tilled, some were carried away and others destroyed. For at the last the Volscians set fire to the country-houses, so that it would be a long time before those who had lost

3 ἀποβαλόντας. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπασχον αἱ τῶν  
 δημοτῶν κτήσεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἔμειναν  
 ἀσινεῖς· εἰ δέ τινες ἐβλάβησαν, εἰς ἀνδράποδα καὶ  
 βοσκήματα ἔδοξαν βλαβῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Μαρκίου παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις, ἵνα δι'  
 ὑποψίας ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατρικιοὶ γένωνται<sup>1</sup> τοῖς  
 δημοτικοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐξαيرهθείη τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς  
 4 πόλεως· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὥς γὰρ ἠγγέλλθη τοῖς  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἡ καταδρομὴ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἔγνωσαν  
 οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γεγонуῖαν ἅπασιν τὴν συμφορὰν, κατ-  
 εβόων μὲν τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ὥς ἐπαγόντων  
 σφίσι τὸν Μάρκιον, ἀπελογοῦντο δ' οἱ πατρικιοὶ  
 καὶ κακουργίαν τινὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτην ἀπ-  
 ἐφαίνον. βοηθεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἢ σώζειν τὰ  
 περιόντα δι' ὑποψίαν τε ἀλλήλων καὶ δέος προ-  
 δοσίας οὐθεὶς ἠξίου· ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὁ  
 Μάρκιος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέστησεν  
 ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία παθόντας μὲν οὐδὲν δεινόν,  
 δράσαντας δ' ὅσα ἠξίου, καὶ πολλῶν εὐπορή-  
 5 σαντας χρημάτων. ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τύλλος ὀλίγον  
 ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων χώρας πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος  
 ὠφελείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοι<sup>2</sup> δύναμιν ἔσχον ὁμόσε  
 χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις<sup>3</sup> ἀπαράσκευοί τε ὄντες καὶ  
 παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ δεινοῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος. ἐκ δὲ  
 τούτου πᾶσα πόλις ἐπῆρτο ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ θάττον  
 ἢ ὥς ἂν τις ὑπέλαβεν ἢ τε καταγραφὴ τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρετεῖτο ὅσων τοῖς  
 στρατηγοῖς ἔδει.

XIII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆκτο ἤδη<sup>4</sup> πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις,

<sup>1</sup> γένωνται O : γένοιτο Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling : ἐκεῖ O.

<sup>3</sup> πολεμίοις Ba : πολεμίοις μαχησόμενοι BbR.

them could restore them. The farms of the plebeians suffered most in this respect, while those of the patricians remained unharmed, or, if they received any damage, it seemed to fall only on their slaves and cattle. For Marcius thus instructed the Volscians, in order to increase the suspicion of the plebeians against the patricians and to keep the sedition alive in the state ; and that is just what happened. For when this raid upon the country was reported to the Romans and they learned that the calamity had not fallen upon all alike, the poor clamoured against the rich, accusing them of bringing Marcius against them, while the patricians endeavoured to clear themselves by declaring that this was some malicious trick on the part of the general. But neither of them, because of mutual jealousy and fear of treachery, thought fit either to come to the rescue of what was being destroyed or to save what was left ; so that Marcius had full liberty to withdraw his army and to bring all his men home after they had done as much harm as they pleased, while suffering none themselves, and had enriched themselves with much booty. Tullus also arrived a little later from the territory of the Latins, bringing with him many spoils ; for there too the inhabitants had no army with which to engage the enemy, since they were unprepared and the calamity fell upon them unexpectedly. As a result of this every city of the Volscians was buoyed up with hope, and more quickly than anyone would have expected not only were the troops enrolled, but everything else was supplied that the generals needed.

XIII. When all their forces were now assembled,

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<sup>4</sup> ᾗδῃ B : om. R. .

ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ὁ Μάρκιος ὅπως χρηστέον τοῖς λοιποῖς πράγμασιν. ἔφη δ' οὖν λέγων· “Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Τύλλε, κράτιστον εἶναι νείμασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἡμᾶς διχῇ· ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἕτερον ἡμῶν ἄγοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις,<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπομενουσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῖν ἵεναι, μιᾷ κρίναι τὸν ἀγῶνα μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ἀποκνήσουσιν, ὥς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, στρατιᾷ νεοσυλλέκτῳ καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀπείροις πολέμου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἐπιτρέπειν, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιόντα πορθεῖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους περισπᾶν καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο κακὸν ὃ τι δύναίτο ποιεῖν. τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ λάθωσιν ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπιπесόντες αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ πρᾶγμα αἰσχιστον πάθωμεν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐφιέμεθα τὰ παρόντα ἀφαιρεθέντες. ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα ἤδη τείχῃ τε ἀνορθοῦν<sup>2</sup> ὅσα πέπτωκε καὶ τάφρους ἀνακαθαίρειν καὶ φρούρια ὀχυροῦν, ἵνα τοῖς γεωργοῦσι τὴν χώραν ὑπάρχωσι καταφυγαί, στρατιάν τε ἄλλην προσκαταγράφειν καὶ τροφὰς τοῖς ἔξω οὖσιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν καὶ ὅπλα χαλκεύειν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πρᾶγμα<sup>3</sup> ὁξέως ὑπηρετεῖν. δίδωμι δέ σοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, εἴτε τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς εἴτε τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπομενούσης ἐθέλεις στρατηγεῖν.” ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ σφόδρα ἡγάσθη τὴν γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, καὶ τὸ δραστήριον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰδὼς καὶ ἐπιτυχὲς ταῖς μάχαις<sup>3</sup> ἐπέτρεψε ἐκείνῳ τῆς ἔξω στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν.

<sup>1</sup> μαχησόμενον after πολεμίοις deleted by Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. : ὀρθοῦν AB.

Marcius took counsel with his colleague how they should conduct their future operations ; and he said to him : “ In my opinion, Tullus, it will be best for us to divide our army into two bodies ; then one of us, taking the most active and eager of the troops, should engage the enemy, and if they can bring themselves to come to close quarters with us, should decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they hesitate, as I think they will, to stake their all upon a newly raised army and inexperienced generals, then he should attack and lay waste their country, detach their allies, destroy their colonies, and do them any other injury he can. And the other should remain here and defend both the country and the cities, lest the enemy fall upon these unawares, if they are unguarded, and we ourselves suffer the most shameful of all disgraces in losing what we have while endeavouring to gain what we have not. But it is necessary that the one who remains here should at once repair the walls of the cities that have fallen in ruin, clear out the ditches, and strengthen the fortresses to serve as places of refuge for the husbandmen. He should also enrol another army, supply the forces that are in the field with provisions, forge arms, and speedily supply anything else that shall be necessary. Now I give you the choice whether you will command the army that is to take the field, or the one which is to remain here.” While he was speaking these words Tullus was greatly delighted with his proposal, and knowing the man’s energy and good fortune in battle, yielded to him the command of the army that was to take the field.

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<sup>3</sup> ταῖς μάχαις AC : om. B, Jacoby.

- XIV. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας ἤκεν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Κιρκαίαν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ κληρουχοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου. ὥς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Κιρκαῖοι κρατουμένην σφῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ προσάγουσαν τῷ τείχει τὴν στρατιάν, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐξήεσαν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄνοπλοι παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀξιούντες· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον  
 2 ἐγένετο. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδένα οὔτε ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐσθῆτα δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τροφὰς εἰς μῆνα ἱκανὰς καὶ ἀργύριόν τι μέτριον λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀλίγην μοῖραν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἔνεκα, μή τι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πάθωσι κακόν, καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὕστερον νεωτερίσαι.
- 3 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὥς ἡγγέλθη τὰ γενόμενα πολὺ πλείων ταραχὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, τῶν μὲν πατρικίων τὸν δῆμον ἐχόντων δι' αἰτίας ὅτι πολεμιστὴν ἄνδρα καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς μεστὸν ψευδεῖ περιβαλόντες αἰτία τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλασαν καὶ παρεσκέυασαν ἡγεμόνα Οὐ-  
 4 λούσκοις γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ προεστηκότων τοῦ δήμου κατηγορίας τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιουμένων καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατεσκευάσθαι λεγόντων τόν τε πόλεμον οὐ κοινὸν ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μόνοις ἐπάγεσθαι σκηπτομένων· καὶ ἦν τὸ κακοηθέστατον τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἅμα τούτοις. στρατιὰς δὲ καταγράφειν ἢ καλεῖν



XIV. Marcius,<sup>1</sup> without losing any more time, came with his army to the city of Circeii, in which there were Roman colonists living intermingled with the native residents ; and he took possession of the town as soon as he appeared before it. For when the Circeians saw their country in the power of the Volscians and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates, and coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, asked them to take possession of the town—a course which saved them from suffering any irreparable mischief. For the general put none of them to death nor expelled any from the city ; but having taken clothing for his soldiers and provisions sufficient for a month, together with a moderate sum of money, he withdrew his forces, leaving only a small garrison in the town, not only for the safety of the inhabitants, lest they should suffer some harm at the hands of the Romans, but also to restrain them from beginning any rebellion in the future.

When news of what had happened was brought to Rome, there was much greater confusion and disorder than before. The patricians reproached the populace with having driven from the state a man who was a great warrior, energetic, and full of noble pride, by involving him in a false charge and having thus caused him to become general of the Volscians ; and the leaders of the populace in turn inveighed against the senate, declaring that the whole affair was a piece of treachery devised by them and that the war was being directed, not against all the Romans in common, but against the plebeians only ; and the most evil-minded element among the populace sided with them. But neither party gave so much as a

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 14-21 *cf.* Livy ii. 39, 2-4.

τοὺς συμμάχους ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι<sup>1</sup> τὰ κατεπείγοντα διὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθη καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατηγορίας οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν ἐλάμβανον.

XV. Τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συστραφέντες ἔπειθον ἰδία τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς στασιωδεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν παύσασθαι τῶν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ὑποψιῶν τε καὶ κατηγοριῶν, διδάσκοντες ὥς<sup>2</sup> εἰ δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς φυγὴν τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, ἐὰν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πατρικίων προπηλακισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταῦτό φρονῆσαι· καὶ κατέσχον οὗτοι τὴν  
 2 ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πλήθους. πανσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολλοῦ θορύβου συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων παροῦσι πρεσβευταῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αἴτησιν ἀπεκρίνατο· μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι σφίσι βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, αὐτοῖς δ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν στρατιὰν καταγράφειν καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως ἰδίους ἐκπέμπειν ἕως ἄν<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὶ ἐκπέμψωσι δύναμιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συνθήκαις αἷς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ  
 3 φιλίας ἀπόρρητον ἦν τούτων ἑκάτερον. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐφῆκαν στρατόν τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρακαλεῖν, εἰς ὑπαιθρον δὲ μήπω τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν ἕως ἄν ἅπαντα εὐτρεπῇ γένηται. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ταῦτα ἐπεκύρωσεν. ἦν δὲ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἔφθασαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν,

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling : κατασκευάσασθαι O.

<sup>2</sup> ὥς O : om. Sylburg, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκπέμπειν ἕως ἄν Cary, ἀποδείξαι ἕως ἄν Kiessling : ἐκ-



thought to raising armies, summoning the allies, or making the necessary preparations, by reason of their mutual hatreds and their accusations of one another in the meetings of the assembly.

XV. This being observed by the oldest of the Romans, they joined together and sought to persuade the most seditious of the plebeians both in public and in private to put a stop to their suspicions and accusations against the patricians. If, they argued, by the banishment of one man of distinction the commonwealth had been brought into so great danger, what were they to expect if by their abusive treatment they forced the greater part of the patricians to entertain the same sentiments? Thus these men appeased the disorderliness of the populace. After the great tumult had been suppressed, the senate met and gave the following answer to the ambassadors who had come from the Latin League to ask for armed assistance: That it was not easy for them to send assistance for the time being; but that they gave the Latins leave to enrol their own army themselves and to send out their own generals in command of their forces until the Romans should send out a force; for by the treaty of friendship they had made with the Latins both these things were forbidden. The senate also ordered the consuls to raise an army by levy, to guard the city, and to summon the allies, but not to take the field with their forces till everything was in readiness. These resolutions were ratified by the people. Only a short time now remained of the consuls' term of office, so that they were unable to carry to completion any of the measures that had been voted,

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πέμπειν τε ὅταν Jacoby, ἐκπέμπειν τε ὅσῃν (σῇν in ras. B).  
 ἂν AB.

ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν ἡμιτελῇ πάντα<sup>1</sup> τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπάτοις.

XVI. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ-  
λαβόντες, Σπόριος Ναύτιος καὶ Σέξτος Φούριος,  
στρατιάν τε ὅσην ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἐκ τοῦ πολι-  
τικοῦ κατεστήσαντο καταλόγου, καὶ φρυκτωρίας  
καὶ σκοποὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις φρουρίοις  
ἔταξαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας  
πραττομένων· χρήματά τε καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὄπλα ἐν  
2 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ ἡτοιμάσαντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
οἰκεῖα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐνῆν ἄριστα, καὶ  
οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔτ' ἐνδεῖν<sup>2</sup> ἐδόκει· τὰ δὲ συμμαχικὰ  
οὐχ ἅπαντα ὑπήκουε προθύμως ἐκούσιά τε οὐκ ἦν  
οἷα συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ὥστε οὐδὲ προσ-  
αναγκάζειν αὐτὰ ἠξίουں φοβούμενοι προδοσίαν.  
ἤδη δέ τινα καὶ ἀφίστατο αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ  
3 καὶ τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις συνελάμβανε. πρῶτοι δ'  
ἦρξαν Αἰκανοὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἅμα τῷ συστήναι  
τὸν πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐλθόντες ὡς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους  
καὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ' ὅρκων συνθέμενοι, στρατιάν  
τε ἀπέστειλαν οὗτοι τῷ Μαρκίῳ πλείστην τε καὶ  
προθυμοτάτην. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων πολλοὶ καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων κρύφα συνελάμβανον τοῖς  
Οὐολούσκοις οὐκ ἀπὸ ψηφισμάτων οὐδ' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ  
δόγματος ἀποστέλλοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς συμμαχίας, εἰ  
δέ τιςιν ἦν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας  
τῶν σφετέρων, οὐχ ὅπως ἀποτρέποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
4 παρορμῶντες. ἐγεγόνει τ' ἐν<sup>3</sup> οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
τοσαύτῃ δύναμις περὶ τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ὅσῃ οὐ  
πώποτ' ἔσχον ὅτε μάλιστα ἠκμαζον ταῖς πόλεσιν<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling : ἅπαντα O.

<sup>2</sup> ἔτ' ἐνδεῖν Reiske : ἔτι δεῖν O, Jacoby.

but handed over everything half finished to their successors.

XVI. Those who assumed office after them, Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius,<sup>1</sup> raised as large an army as they could from the register of citizens, and placed beacons and lookouts in the most convenient fortresses, in order that they might not be unaware of anything that passed in the country. They also got ready a great quantity of money, corn and arms in a short time. Their preparations at home, then, were made in the best manner possible, and nothing now seemed to be wanting; but the allies did not all obey their summons with alacrity nor were they disposed to assist them voluntarily in the war, so that the consuls did not think fit to use compulsion either with them, for fear of treachery. Indeed, some of the allies were already openly revolting from them and aiding the Volscians. The Aequians had begun the revolt by going at once to the Volscians as soon as the war arose and entering into an alliance with them under oath; and these sent to Marcius a very numerous and zealous army. After these had taken the lead, many of the other allies also secretly assisted the Volscians and sent them reinforcements, though not in pursuance of any votes or general decree, but if any of their people desired to take part in the campaign of Marcius, they not only did not attempt to dissuade them, but even encouraged them. Thus in a short time the Volscians had got so large an army as they had never possessed when their cities had been in the most flourishing state. At the head of this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 39, 9.

<sup>3</sup> τ' ἐν Hertlein : τε O.

<sup>4</sup> ταῖς πόλεσιν O : τοῖς πλήθεσιν Post, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις Reiske.

ἦν ἐπαγόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐνέβαλεν αὐθις εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἡμέρας συχνὰς ἐδήου τῆς γῆς ὅσῃν ἐν τῇ πρότερον εἰσβολῇ παρ-  
 5 ἐλίπε. σωμαίων μὲν οὖν ἐλευθέρων οὐκέτι πολλῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια συσκευασάμενοι παλαιότερον ἔτι κατεπεφεύγεσαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον φρούρια, εἴ τινα<sup>1</sup> ἦν ἐχυρώτατα· τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα αὐτῶν, ὅσα οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τοὺς νέμοντας θεράποντας λαμβάνει τὸν τε σῖτον τὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλωσιν ἔτι κείμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρπούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ συγκεκομισμένους ἀναιρείται.  
 6 προνομεύσας δὲ καὶ διαπορθήσας ἅπαντα οὐθενὸς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τολμήσαντος ἀπήγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιὰν βαρεῖαν οὖσαν ἤδη τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὠφελειῶν καὶ σχολῇ πορευομένην.

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Οὐλοῦσκοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κομιζομένης λείας ὁρῶντες καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀτολμίας ἀκούοντες, οἱ δὴ τέως τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λεηλατοῦντες ἀδεῶς τότε τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ἠνείχοντο δηουμένην ὁρῶντες, αὐχήματός τε μεγάλου ἐν-επίμπλαντο καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν ἡγεμονίας, ὥς δὴ ῥάδιον καὶ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ σφίσιν ὃν καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἰσχύν, θυσίας τε χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σκύλων ἀναθέσει τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐκόσμου καὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντες ἐν ἐορταῖς καὶ εὐπαθείαις, τὸν τε Μάρκιον ἀγάμενοι καὶ ὑμνούντες διετέλουν, ὥς εἴη τά τε πολέμια δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ στρατηγὸς οἷος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε

army Marcius made another irruption into the territory of the Romans, and encamping there for many days, laid waste all the country which he had spared in his former incursion. He did not, it is true, capture many persons of free condition on this expedition; for the inhabitants had long since fled, after getting together everything that was most valuable, some to Rome and others to such of the neighbouring fortresses as were most capable of defence; but he took all the cattle they had not been able to drive away, together with the slaves who tended them, and carried off the corn, that still lay upon the threshing-floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering or already gathered. Having ravaged and laid everything waste, as none dared to come to grips with him, he led homeward his army, which was now heavily burdened with the great amount of its spoils and was proceeding in leisurely fashion.

XVII. The Volscians, seeing the vast quantity of booty that was being brought home and hearing reports of the craven spirit of the Romans who, though they had hitherto been wont to ravage their neighbours' country, could now bear to see their own laid waste with impunity, were filled with great boastfulness and entertained hopes of the supremacy, looking upon it as an easy undertaking, lying ready to their hands, to overthrow the power of their adversaries. They offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods for their success and adorned their temples and market-places with dedications of spoils, and all passed their time in festivals and rejoicings; while as for Marcius, they continued to admire and celebrate him as the ablest of all men in warfare and a general

<sup>1</sup> εἴ τινα B : ἄτινα R.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν added by Reiske.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἄλλος στρατηγὸς<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς.  
 2 μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τύχης αὐτὸν ἐμακάριζον ἅπαντα  
 ὅσοις ἐπιχειρήσειε κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ προχω-  
 ροῦντα ὁρῶντες δίχα πόνου· ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν  
 ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ὃς ἀπολείπεσθαι  
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὥρμητο μετέχειν  
 τῶν πράξεων καὶ συνήεσαν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης  
 3 πόλεως. ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθυμίαν  
 τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐπέρρωσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀνδρεῖον εἰς ταπεινὴν καὶ ἄνανδρον κατέκλεισεν ἀμη-  
 χανίαν, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν πόλεις<sup>2</sup> ὅσαι τὸ  
 πιστὸν διεφύλαττον ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτίκα  
 ἐτοιμασάμενος ὅσα εἰς πολιορκίαν χρήσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ  
 4 Τολερίνους ἐλαύνει τοῦ Λατίνων ὄντας ἔθνους. οἱ  
 δὲ Τολερίνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς  
 πόλεμον<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν συγ-  
 κεκομικότες ἐδέχοντο αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα καὶ χρόνον μὲν  
 τινα ἀντεῖχον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν μαχόμενοι καὶ πολ-  
 λούς τῶν πολεμίων κατέτρωσαν· ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 σφενδονητῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι δειλῆς  
 ὀψίας ταλαιπωροῦντες πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους  
 5 ἐξέλιπον. τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος τοῖς μὲν  
 ἄλλοις στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε κλίμακας προσ-  
 φέρειν κατὰ τὰ γυμνούμενα μέρη τοῦ περιβόλου,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἵεται βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων,  
 καὶ διαρρήξας τοὺς μοχλοὺς παρέρχεται πρῶτος εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δ' ὑφ' ἐστηκὸς ταῖς πύλαις πολὺ καὶ  
 καρτερόν στίφος τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δέχονταί τε  
 αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διεκαρτέρουν

<sup>1</sup> στρατηγὸς deleted by Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> πόλεις B : om. R.



without an equal either at Rome or in the Greek or barbarian world. But above all they admired him for his good fortune, observing that everything he undertook easily succeeded according to his desire ; so that there was no one of military age who was willing to be left behind by him, but all were eager to share in his exploits and flocked to him from every city. The general, after he had strengthened the zeal of the Volscians and reduced the manly fortitude of the enemy to a helplessness that was abject and anything but manly, led his army against the cities of their allies that still remained faithful to them ; and having promptly prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, he marched against the Toleriensens, who belonged to the Latin nation. These, having long before made the necessary preparations for war and transported all the effects they had in the country into the city, withstood his attack and held out for some time, fighting from their walls and wounding many of the enemy ; then, after being driven back by the slingers and enduring hardships till the late afternoon, they abandoned many parts of the wall. When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered some of the soldiers to plant ladders against those parts of the wall that were left unprotected, while he himself with the flower of his army hastened to the gates amid a shower of spears that were hurled at him from the towers ; and breaking the bars asunder, he was the first to enter the city. Close to the gates stood a large and strong body of the enemy's troops, who stoutly withstood his attack and continued to fight for a long time ; but

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<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὸν πόλεμον Sylburg, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> ἀναλαβὼν placed here by Sylburg : after πύλας by O.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀγωνιζόμενοι· πολλῶν δ' ἀναιρεθέντων τρέπονται οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ σκεδασθέντες ἔφευγον ἅνα τοὺς στενωπούς. ὁ δ' ἠκολούθει κτείνων τοὺς<sup>1</sup> καταλαμβανομένους, ὅσοι μὴ τὰ ὄπλα ῥύψαντες εἰς ἰκεσίας ἐτράποντο· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ τείχους. τοῦτον δὴ<sup>2</sup> τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐξελόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ὅσα θεοῖς τε ἀναθήματα καὶ κόσμος ταῖς Οὐολούσκων πόλεσιν ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι,<sup>3</sup> τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε  
 7 διαρπάσαι. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθι σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα, πολὺς δὲ σῖτος, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι μιᾷ πάντα<sup>4</sup> ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἡμέρα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες τὰ μὲν αὐτοί, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, πολὺν ἡναγκάσθησαν διατρῖψαι χρόνον.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐξεκεκόμιστο, τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βῶλαν Λατίνων<sup>5</sup> ἐτέραν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ προεγνωκότες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκιος ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσων κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς· οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ περιμέναντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας, καὶ φερόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐν τάξει τε καὶ κόσμῳ συρράπτουσι τοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἔτι δὲ πλείους<sup>6</sup> κατατραυματίσαντες τοὺς τε λοιποὺς αἰσchrῶς ἀναγκάσαντες φυγεῖν ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς B : τοὺς πολεμίους R.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling : δὲ O.



when many of them had been killed, the rest gave way and, dispersing themselves, fled through the streets. Marcius followed, putting to death all whom he overtook except those who threw away their arms and had recourse to supplications. In the meantime the men who had ascended by the ladders were making themselves masters of the wall. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius set aside such of the spoils as were to be consecrated to the gods and to adorn the cities of the Volscians, and the rest he permitted the soldiers to plunder. Many prisoners were taken there, also a great deal of money and much corn, so that it was not easy for the victors to remove everything in one day, but they were forced to consume much time while, working in relays, they drove or carried away the booty, either on their own backs or using beasts of burden.

XVIII. The general, after all the prisoners and effects had been removed out of the city, left it desolate and drew off his forces to Bola, another town of the Latins. The Bolani also, as it chanced, had been apprised of his intended attack and had prepared everything necessary for the struggle. Marcius, who expected to take the town by storm, delivered his attacks upon many parts of the wall. But the Bolani, after watching for a favourable opportunity, opened their gates, and sallying out in force in regular array, engaged the front ranks of the enemy; then, after killing many of them and wounding still more and after forcing the rest to a shameful flight, they

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<sup>3</sup> Hertlein : γενέσθαι O, Jacoby, ἔσεσθαι Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> πάντα B : πάντας R.

<sup>5</sup> Βῶλαν Λατίνων Sintenis : βωλανῶν O.

<sup>6</sup> πλείους B : πλείους τούτων R.

- 2 πόλιν. ὥς δ' ἔγνω τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Οὐολούσκων ὁ Μάρκιος, οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχε παρῶν ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ<sup>1</sup> τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο, παρῆν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς σκεδασθέντας ἀναλαβὼν συνίστα τε<sup>2</sup> καὶ παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέστησεν εἰς τάξεις, ὑποδείξας ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε προσβάλλειν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας.
- 3 χρησαμένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Βωλανῶν τῇ αὐτῇ πείρᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐκδραμόντων οὐ δέχονται αὐτοὺς οἱ<sup>3</sup> Οὐολούσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς, ὥς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέθετο· καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ τὴν ἀπάτην οὐκ εἰδότες ἐδίωκον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ἐγένοντο, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τῶν νέων ὁ Μάρκιος ὁμόσε τοῖς Βωλανοῖς ἐχώρει· καὶ γίνεται πολὺς αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα φόνος τῶν μὲν ἀμυνομένων, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων.
- 4 ὁ δ' ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠθουμένοις φθάνει πρὶν ἐπιρραχθῆναι τὰς πύλας εἰσβιασάμενος<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ὥς δ' ὁ στρατηγὸς ἄπαξ ἐγκρατὴς τῶν πυλῶν ἐγένετο, ἠκολούθει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Οὐολούσκων πλῆθος, οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τε σώματα ἐξανδραποδίσσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἄπασαν ἐκκομίσας τὴν λείαν σὺν χρόνῳ τε καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν, μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν.

XIX. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Λαβικανούς. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη<sup>5</sup> τότε Λατίνων ἡ πόλις, Ἀλβανῶν ὥσπερ αἱ

<sup>1</sup> χωρίῳ B : om. R.

retired into the city. When Marcius learned of the rout of the Volscians—for it chanced that he was not present in the place where this defeat occurred—he came up in all haste with a few of his men, and rallying those who were dispersed in the flight, he formed them into a body and encouraged them. Then, having got them back in their ranks and indicated what they were to do, he ordered them to attack the town at the same gates. When the Bolani once more tried the same expedient, sallying out in force, the Volscians did not await them, but gave way and fled down hill, as their general had instructed them to do; and the Bolani, ignorant of the ruse, pursued them a considerable way. Then, when they were at a distance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of chosen youth; and many of the Bolani fell, some while defending themselves and others while endeavouring to escape. Marcius pursued those who were being pushed back toward the town and forced his way inside the walls before the gates could be slammed shut. When the general had once made himself master of the gates, the rest of the Volscian host followed, and the Bolani, abandoning the walls, fled to their houses. Marcius, having possessed himself of this city also, gave leave to the soldiers to make slaves of the inhabitants and to seize their effects; and after carrying away all the booty at his leisure and with full liberty, as before, he set fire to the town.

XIX. From there he took his army and marched against the place called Labici. This city too belonged then to the Latins and was, like the others, a

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<sup>2</sup> συνίστα τε R : συνίσταται B, συνίστατο Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> οἱ B : om. R.

<sup>4</sup> Cobet : ἐκβιασάμενος O.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg : αὐτὴ O.

ἄλλαι<sup>1</sup> ἄποικος. καταπλήξασθαι δὲ βουλόμενος  
 τοὺς ἔνδον ἔκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθὺς ἐπιὼν  
 ὅθεν μάλιστα ἔμελλον ὄψεσθαι τὴν φλόγα. οἱ δὲ  
 Λαβικανοὶ τείχος εὖ κατεσκευασμένον<sup>2</sup> ἔχοντες  
 οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε μαλα-  
 κὸν ἐνέδοσαν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀντείχον ἀπομαχόμενοι  
 γενναίως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῦ τείχους  
<sup>2</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήραξαν. οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος γε  
 ἀντέσχον ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ  
 χρόνον οὐδὲ<sup>3</sup> τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναπαυόμενοι. πολλὰ  
 γὰρ προσβολαὶ καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐγίνοντο  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑποχωρούντων  
 μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν κεκμηκότων, ἐτέρων δὲ προσιόντων  
 νεαρῶν· πρὸς οὓς ἀγωνιζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας  
 καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενοί<sup>4</sup> χρόνον  
 ἐκλιπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν τὸ τείχος ὑπὸ κόπου.  
 παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὁ Μάρκιος τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε μερί-  
<sup>3</sup> σασθαι τὰς ὠφελείας. ἀναστήσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν  
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πεδανῶν πόλιν (ἣν δὲ καὶ αὕτη<sup>5</sup>  
 τοῦ Λατίνων γένους), συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν  
 στρατιὰν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα τῷ πλησιάσαι  
 τοῖς τείχεσιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. καὶ ταῦτά δια-  
 θεὶς ὅσα τὰς πρότερον ἀλούσας ἔωθεν εὐθὺς ἀνα-  
<sup>4</sup> στήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγειν ἐπὶ Κορβιῶνα. ὄντι δ'  
 αὐτῷ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες οἱ  
 ἔνδον ἀπαντῶσιν ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων προτείνοντες<sup>6</sup>  
 ἱκετηρίας καὶ παραδιδόντες ἀμαχητὶ τὸ τείχος.  
 οὓς ἐπαινέσας ὥς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ σφῶν βεβου-

<sup>1</sup> αἱ ἄλλαι Sylburg : καὶ ἄλλη O, καὶ ἄλλαι Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> εὖ κατεσκευασμένον Gelenius : ἐγκατεσκευασμένον O.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ B : οὐ R.

<sup>4</sup> ἀναπαυσάμενοι B : ἀναπαυόμενοι R.

colony of the Albans. In order to terrify the inhabitants, as soon as he entered their territory he set fire to the part of the country from which the flames would most clearly be seen by them. But the Labicani, since they had well-constructed walls, neither became terrified at his invasion nor showed any sign of weakness, but made a brave resistance and often repulsed the enemy as they were attempting to scale the walls. Notwithstanding this, they were not able to resist to the end, fighting as they were few against many and without the least respite. For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volscians, who fought in shifts, those who were fatigued continually retiring and other forces that were fresh taking their place; and the inhabitants, contending against these all day, without any respite even at night, were forced through exhaustion to abandon the walls. Marcius, having taken this city also, made slaves of the inhabitants and allowed his soldiers to divide the spoils. Thence he marched to Pedum—this also was a city of the Latins—and advancing with his army in good order, he took the town by storm as soon as he came near the walls. And having treated it in the same manner as the cities he had captured earlier, he led his forces at break of day against Corbio. When he was near its walls, the inhabitants opened their gates and came to meet him, holding out olive-branches instead of weapons and offering to surrender their walls without striking a blow. Marcius, after commending them

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<sup>5</sup> Kayser : αὐτῇ O.

<sup>6</sup> ἀντὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν προτείνοντες (cf. xi. 17, 4; i. 20, 1) Jacoby : ἀντιπροτείνοντες AB (but space of one or two letters after ἀντι in B), πάντες προτείνοντες Kiessling.

λευμένους, ἐκέλευσεν ὦν ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ φέροντας ἤκειν ἀργύριόν τε καὶ σίτον, καὶ λαβὼν ὅσα προσέταξεν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Κοριολανῶν<sup>1</sup> πόλιν. παραδόντων δὲ κακείνην τῶν ἔνδον ἀμαχητὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀγοράς τε παρασχόντων τῇ δυνάμει καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπετέτακτο αὐτοῖς ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς διὰ φιλίας  
 5 γῆς. πάνν γάρ δῃ καὶ<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο ἐσπούδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοῖς τὰς πόλεις πάθοιεν ὦν φιλεῖ δρᾶν ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν ἀδήωτον ἀπολαμβάνοιεν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα ὅσα κατέλιπον ἐπὶ τῶν κτήσεων κομίζοιντο, αὐλίζεσθαι τε οὐκ εἶα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἵνα μὴ τι γένηται δι' ἀρπαγῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἢ κλοπῆς κακόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσι κατεστρατοπέδευεν.

XX. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀναστήσας τῆς πόλεως ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Βοῖλλας,<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφανῇ τότε οὔσαν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγαις πάνν ταῖς ἡγουμέναις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους πόλεσιν ἐξεταζομένην. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἐρύματι πιστευόντων ἐχυρῷ γέ<sup>4</sup> σφόδρα ὄντι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μαχησομένων, παρακαλέσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι προθύμως καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπιβᾶσι<sup>5</sup> τοῦ τείχους μεγάλας δωρεὰς ὑποσχόμενος ἔργου εἶχετο· καὶ γίνεται μάχη περὶ τῇ

<sup>1</sup> κοριολανῶν R : κοπιολανῶν AB, Jacoby, Καρυεντανῶν Niebuhr.

<sup>2</sup> γάρ δῃ καὶ A : γάρ καὶ R.

<sup>3</sup> Βοῖλλας Gelenius : βωλᾶς A, βολᾶς B.

<sup>4</sup> γε B : τε R.

<sup>5</sup> πρώτοις ἐπιβᾶσι B : πρώτως ἐπιβαλοῦσι R.



for adopting the course that was to their best interest, ordered them to come out bringing whatever his army required, both money and corn; and having obtained what he demanded, he led his forces to Corioli.<sup>1</sup> When the inhabitants of this place also surrendered it without resistance and very readily supplied his army with provisions and money and everything else that he ordered, he led the army away through their territory as through a friendly land. For this too was a matter about which he always took great care—that those who surrendered their cities to him should suffer none of the ills incident to war, but should get back their lands unravaged and recover all the cattle and slaves they had left behind on their farms; and he would not permit his army to quarter itself in the cities, lest some mischief should result from their plundering or stealing, but he always encamped near the walls.

XX. Departing from this city, he led his army to Bovillae, which was then a city of note and counted as one of the very few leading cities of the Latin nation. When the inhabitants would not receive him, but trusted in their ramparts, which were very strong, and in the multitude of defenders who would fight from them, Marcius exhorted his men to fight ardently, promising great rewards to those who should first mount the walls, and then set to work; and a sharp battle took place for this city.

MSS. in place of "the city of the Copiolani," given by A and B. The latter name is certainly false. But if Coriolani is the correct form here, some other name almost certainly underlies the corrupt spelling Chorielani in chap. 36, 2. Livy (ii. 39, 2 f.) names Corioli as one of the cities taken by Coriolanus for the Volscians, but his list does not follow the same order as that of Dionysius.

- 2 πόλει ταύτῃ καρτερά. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἡμύνοντο τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ Βοϊλλανοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον<sup>1</sup> ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἑώθουν βία τοὺς ὑφισταμένους<sup>2</sup>. φόνος τε πλείστος αὐτόθι τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνος τῆς τειχομαχίας πολὺς τοῦ τε κρατήσῃν τῆς πόλεως ἄπορος ἅπασιν ἢ ἐλπίς. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἄδηλον ἐποίει τὴν ἀπουσίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀντικαθιστὰς ἑτέρους, τῶν δὲ καμνόντων παρεθάρρυνε τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πονοῦν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς ὠθούμενος. ἦν δ'<sup>3</sup> οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαγωγὸς εἰς<sup>4</sup> τὸ εὖψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα· πάντα γὰρ ὑφίστατο κίνδυνον καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς
- 3 πείρας ἀπελείφθη, ἕως<sup>5</sup> ἑάλω τὸ τεῖχος. κρατήσας δὲ καὶ ταύτης σὺν χρόνῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων<sup>6</sup> τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διαφθείρας, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην ἐξενεγκάμενος καὶ λάφυρα κάλλιστα καὶ πλείστα ἄγων, χρήμασί τε παμπόλλοις ὦν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο (ἦν δ' αὐτόθι ὅσα ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀλόντων<sup>7</sup> χωρίων) πλουτίσας τὴν στρατιάν.

XXI. Μετὰ τοῦτο χώρα τε ὅσῃν διαπορεύοιτο ὑποχείριος ἦν καὶ πόλις οὐδεμία ἠναντιοῦτο ἔξω Λαουινίου, ἦν πρώτην τε<sup>8</sup> πόλιν οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ κατάραντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρῶες ἔκτισαν, καὶ ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἦν γένος, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδῆλωται. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες πάντα

<sup>1</sup> ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον Reiske : ἐξέθεον ἀνοίξαντες B, ἐξέθεον ἀνοίγοντες R.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : ἐφισταμένους O.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ R : τε B.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling : ἐπὶ O.

<sup>5</sup> ἕως O : τέως Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνθρώπων (or ἔνδον) Cary : ἀλόντων O, Jacoby. For τῶν ἀνθρώπων see ix. 34, 4; iii. 37, 4; for τῶν ἔνδον, the more



For the Bovillani not only repulsed the assailants from the walls, but even threw open their gates, and sallying out in a body, forcibly thrust back down hill those who opposed them. Here the Volscians suffered very heavy losses and the battle for the walls continued a long time, so that all despaired of taking the town. But the general caused the loss of those who were slain to pass unnoticed by replacing them with others, and inspired with fresh courage those who were spent with toil by pressing forward himself to that part of the army which was in distress. Thus not only his words, but his actions also were incentives to valour; for he faced every danger and was not found wanting in any attempt till the walls were taken. When at length he had made himself master of this city also and had summarily put to death some of the inhabitants and made prisoners of the rest, he withdrew his forces, having won a most glorious victory and carrying off great quantities of the finest spoils, besides enriching his army with vast amounts of money he had got possession of in this city, where it was found in greater quantity than in any of the places he had captured.

XXI. After this all the country he marched through submitted to him and no city made any resistance but Lavinium, which was the first city built by the Trojans who landed in Italy with Aeneas, and the one from which the Romans derive their origin, as I have shown earlier.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of this city thought they

<sup>1</sup> i. 45, 1; iii. 11, 2.

common expression, viii. 19, 1 and 4 (*bis*); 20, 1. Palaeographically *ἀνθρώπων* is more probable. *ἀλόντων* may have been a marginal correction intended to apply to *ἄλλων*, 5 lines below, but applied here by mistake.

<sup>7</sup> *ἀλόντων* O : *ἄλλων* Kiessling.

<sup>8</sup> Reiske : γε O.

πρότερον ὦντο δεῖν ὑπομένειν ἢ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς  
 2 ἀπογόνους<sup>1</sup> σφῶν<sup>2</sup> πιστὸν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ἐγένοντο  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ τειχομαχίαι τινὲς αὐτόθι καρτεραὶ καὶ  
 πρὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὀξεῖαι μάχαι· οὐ μὴν ἑάλω γε  
 τὸ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος<sup>3</sup> τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ, ἀλλ'  
 ἐδόκει χρόνου δεῖν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τριβῆς. ἀποστὰς οὖν τῆς  
 τειχομαχίας<sup>5</sup> ὁ Μάρκιος περιετάφρευε κύκλῳ τὴν  
 πόλιν καὶ ἀπεσταύρου, τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλάττων ἵνα  
 μήτε ἀγορὰ μήτε ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς<sup>6</sup> ἔξωθεν  
 προσγένοιτο.

3 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τε κεκρατημένων ἤδη πόλεων  
 τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀκούοντες καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων τῷ  
 Μαρκίῳ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ἐνοχλοῦ-  
 μενοι ταῖς ἀφικνουμέναις ὡς αὐτοὺς ὁσημέραι παρὰ  
 τῶν μενουσῶν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ δεομένων βοηθείας,  
 τοῦ τε Λαουῖνίου τὸν περιτειχισμὸν ὀρρωδοῦντες  
 ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα, καὶ εἰ τόδε τὸ φρούριον ἀλώσεται  
 τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν εὐθὺς οἰόμενοι, μίαν  
 ὑπέλαβον ἔσσεσθαι πάντων<sup>7</sup> τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, εἰ  
 4 ψηφίσαιντο τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ ὁ τε  
 δῆμος ἅπας ἐβόα τοῦτο<sup>8</sup> καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι νόμον  
 εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ ἀκυρώσεως τῆς καταδίκης ἐβού-  
 λοντο· ἀλλ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἠναντιώθησαν αὐτοῖς οὐκ  
 ἀξιοῦντες τῶν δεδικασμένων λύειν οὐθέν. μὴ γε-  
 νομένου δὲ προβουλεύματος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲ  
 τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔτι προθεῖναι γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον  
 5 ἐδόκει. ὁ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀφ' ἧς δήποτε  
 αἰτίας ἡ βουλὴ σπουδάζουσα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρό-

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : πογόνους Ba, προγόνους ABb.

<sup>2</sup> σφῶν R : σφῶν ῥωμαίους AB.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ κράτος R : ἀπὸ κράτους AB, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> δεῖν Jacoby : δεῖν ἢ πολιορκία O, δεῖν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Reiske.

<sup>5</sup> τειχομαχίας Amg : πολιορκίας O, Jacoby.

ought to suffer any extremity rather than fail to keep faith with their descendants. Here, therefore, some stubborn fighting took place upon the walls and some sharp engagements before the ramparts ; nevertheless, the walls were not carried by storm at the first assault, but their capture seemed to require time and unhurried persistence. Marcius accordingly gave over the attack on the walls and undertook to construct a ditch and a palisade round the town, while guarding all the roads so that neither provisions nor reinforcements might come to the inhabitants from outside.

The Romans, being informed both of the destruction of the cities that were already taken and of the exigency which had influenced those who had joined Marcius, and importuned by the embassies which came to them daily from those who continued firm in their friendship and besought their aid, and being alarmed, moreover, by the investment of Lavinium then in progress and believing that if this stronghold should be taken the war would promptly come to their own gates, thought the only remedy for all these evils would be to pass a vote for the return of Marcius. The entire populace shouted for this and the tribunes too wished to introduce a law for the annulment of his condemnation ; but the patricians opposed them, being determined not to reverse any part of the sentence which had been pronounced. And as no preliminary decree was passed by the senate, the tribunes too no longer thought fit to propose the matter to the populace. It may well excite wonder what the motive was that led the senate, which hitherto had

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<sup>6</sup> Sylburg : αὐτῶν O.

<sup>7</sup> Kiessling : ἀπάντων O.

<sup>8</sup> τοῦτο B : om. R.

νον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μαρκίου τότε βουλομένῳ τῷ δήμῳ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἡναντιώθη· πότερα πείραν αὐτοῦ ποιουμένη τῆς γνώμης καὶ<sup>1</sup> τῷ μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἐτοίμως<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν παρορμῶσα, ἢ τὰς καθ'<sup>3</sup> ἑαυτῆς ἀπολύσασθαι βουλομένη διαβολὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθενὸς ὧν ἔπραττεν ὁ ἀνὴρ μήτε αἰτία μήτε συνεργὸς εἶναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπόρρητον γενόμενον αὐτῆς τὸ βούλευμα συμβαλεῖν.

XXII. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτομόλων τινῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς, εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, φυλακὴν τοῦ Λαουινίου τὴν ἄρκοῦσαν καταλιπὼν· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους τετταράκοντα ἀποσχὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους.  
<sup>2</sup> μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοσοῦτος ἐνέπεσε θόρυβος ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς τείχεσι τοῦ πολέμου προσάξοντος, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἔθεον ἄνευ παραγγέλματος, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατὰ πλήθος ἐφέροντο χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς δούλους καθοπλίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι<sup>4</sup> τῶν οἰκιῶν ἴστασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τε ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔρυμνοὺς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο, γυναῖκές τε λελυμέναι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς ἔθεον ὀλοφυρόμεναί τε καὶ δεόμεναι τῶν θεῶν ἀπο-  
<sup>3</sup> τρέψαι<sup>5</sup> τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἐπιόντα φόβον. ὡς δ' ἦ τε νύξ παρῆλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, συνέδραμον ἅπαντες

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Kiessling : ἢ O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτοίμως B : ἐκάστῳ ἐτοίμως R.

<sup>3</sup> τὰς καθ' R : τὰς ἴσας καθ' B.

so warmly espoused the cause of Marcius, to oppose the populace on this occasion when they wished to recall him—whether they were sounding out the sentiment of the populace and arousing them to greater zeal by their own reluctance to yield to them, or whether they wished to clear themselves of the accusations brought against them so that they might not be held to be either responsible for or accomplices in any of the acts of Marcius. For as their purpose was kept secret, it was difficult to conjecture what it was.

XXII. Marcius,<sup>1</sup> being informed of these events by some deserters, was so angry that he broke camp at once and marched on Rome, leaving a sufficient force to keep guard over Lavinium; and he straightway encamped at the place called the Cluilian Ditches,<sup>2</sup> at a distance of forty stades from the city. When the Romans heard of his presence there, such confusion fell upon them, in their belief that the war would at once come to their walls, that some seized their arms and ran to the walls without orders, others went in a body to the gates without anyone to command them, some armed their slaves and took their stand on the roofs of their houses, and still others seized the citadel and the Capitol and the other strong places of the city; and the women, with their hair dishevelled, ran to the sanctuaries and to the temples, lamenting and praying to the gods to avert the danger that threatened. But when the night had passed, as well as most of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared befell them, but Marcius remained

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 22-36 *cf.* Livy ii. 39, 4-11.

<sup>2</sup> The fossae Cluiliae; see iii. 4, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : *τείχει Ο.*

<sup>5</sup> Cobet : *ἀποστρέψαι Ο.*

εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προβουλεύσουσι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν κάθοδον, αὐτοὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔφασαν ὡς προδιδόμενοι.  
 4 τότε δὴ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατρίκιοι ψηφίζονται πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἀποστεῖλαι πέντε<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, οὓς μάλιστα ἐκεῖνος ἡσπάζετο, περὶ διαλύσεώς τε καὶ φιλίας διαλεξομένους. ἦσαν δ' οἱ προχειρισθέντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἷδε, Μάρκος Μηνύκιος καὶ Πόστομος Κομίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος καὶ Κόιντος Σολπίκιος, ἅπαντες  
 5 ὑπατικοί. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἔγνω τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, καθεζόμενος ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἔνθα πλείστοι ἔμελλον ἀκούσεσθαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐκέλευσε καλεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰσελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἤρξατο τοῦ λόγου Μηνύκιος, ὁ πλείστα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνον σπουδάσας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἐναντιωθεὶς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

XXIII. “Ὅτι μὲν οὐ δίκαια πέπονθας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετ' αἰτίας αἰσχυρᾶς ἐξελαθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἅπαντες ἴσμεν· καὶ οὐδὲν οἰόμεθά σε ποιεῖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις. κοινὸς γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀπάντων φύσεως οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τῷ δράσαντι  
 2 τὸ πεπονθὸς κακῶς. ὅτι δ' οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ σώφρονος ἐξετάζεις οὓς ἀμύνεσθαί τε καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαί σοι προσῆκεν,<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ μετριάζεις περὶ τὴν ἀνάπραξιν τῆς δίκης, ἀλλ' ἐν ταυτῷ τίθесαι τά τε



quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the Forum and called upon the patricians<sup>1</sup> to assemble in the senate-house, declaring that if they would not pass the preliminary decree for the return of Marcius, they themselves, as men who were being betrayed, would take measures for their own protection. Then at last the senators met in the senate-house and voted to send to Marcius five of their oldest members who were his closest friends, to treat for reconciliation and friendship. The men chosen were Marcus Minucius, Postumus Cominius, Spurius Larcius, Publius Pinarius and Quintus Sulpicius, all ex-consuls. When they came to the camp and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he seated himself in the midst of the most important of the Volscians and their allies, where very many would hear all that was said, and then ordered the envoys to be summoned. When these came in, Minucius, who during his consulship had been most active in his favour and had distinguished himself by his opposition to the plebeians, spoke first, as follows :

XXIII. " We are all sensible, Marcius, that you have suffered injustice at the hands of the populace in having been banished from your country under a foul accusation, and we do not regard it as anything strange on your part if you feel anger and resentment at your misfortunes. For common to the nature of all men is this law—that the injured party is an enemy to the aggressor. But that you do not examine in the light of sober reason who those are whom you ought to requite and punish, nor show any moderation in exacting that punishment, but class together

<sup>1</sup> " Patricians " is here used for " senators."

<sup>1</sup> πέντε B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby : προσήκει O.

ἀναίτια τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ τὰ φίλια τοῖς πολεμίοις, νόμους τε κινεῖς φύσεως ἀκινήτους καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνταράττεις ὅσια, καὶ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ ὅστις ἔφυς ἔτι μέμνησαι, τοῦτο  
 3 τεθαυμάκαμεν. ἤκομέν τε ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πρέσβεις οἱ προὔχοντες ἡλικία τῶν πατρικίων καὶ περὶ σέ προθυμότατοι μεμιγμένην φέροντες δικαιολογίαν παραιτήσῃ, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιουμέν σε διαλύσασθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπαγγελοῦντες<sup>2</sup>. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἃ νομίζομεν εἶναι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφωρώτατά σοι, ταῦτα παραινέσοντες.

XXIV. “ Ἀρχέτω δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγος. συνέστη τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ παροξυνθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ ἤκον ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντές σε ἄκριτον, οἷς φοβερὸς ἦσθα. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐκωλύσαμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ παρέσχομέν σοι μηθὲν ὃ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν τότε παθεῖν. μετὰ τοῦτο προὔκαλοῦντό σε οἱ κωλυθέντες ἀνελεῖν ἐπὶ δίκην, αἰτιασάμενοι πονηροὺς κατ' αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ  
 2 βουλῇ λόγους. ἐνέστημεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὡς οἶσθα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε λόγων ὑποσχεῖν σε δίκας. ἀποτυχόντες καὶ τούτου τελευτῶντες ἤκον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αἰτιώμενοί σε τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν.<sup>3</sup> ταύτην αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινας ἀπολογήσασθαι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ πάμπολυ ἀπέιχες αὐτῆς, καὶ παρέσχες τοῖς δημοτικοῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ  
 3 τὴν ψῆφον ἀναλαβεῖν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ καὶ τότε παρῆν καὶ πολλὰς ἐποιεῖτο δεήσεις περὶ σοῦ. τίνος οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι τῶν συμβεβηκότων σοι κακῶν

<sup>1</sup> διαλύσασθαι R : διαλύσεσθαι Ba, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαγγελοῦντες Bb : ἀπαγγελλοῦντες Ba, ἀπαγγέλλοντες R.



the innocent with the guilty and friends with enemies, and that you violate the inviolable laws of Nature, confound the duties of religion, and, even as to yourself, no longer remember from whom you are sprung and what sort of man you are—that has seemed strange to us. We have come now, the oldest of the patricians and the most zealous of your friends, sent by the commonwealth to present our defence mingled with entreaty, and to bring word upon what conditions we ask you to lay aside your enmity toward the populace; and furthermore, to advise you of the course which we believe will be most honourable and advantageous for you.

XXIV. “ Let me speak first concerning the point of justice. The plebeians, inflamed by the tribunes, conspired against you and came with the intention of putting you to death without a trial, because they feared you. This attempt we of the senate prevented, and we permitted you to suffer no injustice on that occasion. Afterwards the same men who had been prevented from destroying you summoned you to trial, charging you with having uttered malicious words about them in the senate. We opposed this too, as you know, and would not permit you to be brought to trial either for your opinion or for your words. Disappointed in this also, they came to us at last, accusing you of aiming at tyranny. This charge you yourself consented to answer, since you were far from being guilty of it, and you permitted the plebeians to give their votes concerning you. The senate was present on this occasion also and made many pleas in your behalf. Of which of the misfortunes, then, that have befallen you have we

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<sup>3</sup> ἐπιχειρεῖν Sintenis : ἐπὶ (sic) O.

γεγόναμεν αἴτιοι, καὶ διὰ τί πολεμεῖς ἡμῖν τοσαύ-  
 την εὐνοίαν ἀποδειξαμένοις περὶ σέ κατὰ τὸν τότε  
 ἀγῶνα; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν ἐξ-  
 ελαθῆναί σε βουλόμενον εὐρέθη· δυσι γοῦν ψήφοις  
 ἐάλως μόναίς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τούτοις ἂν εἴης σὺν δίκῃ  
 πολέμιος οἷ σε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἀπέλυσαν.  
 4 τίθημι δ', εἰ βούλει, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς δημόταις δό-  
 ξαν, ὅλη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ φανέν ταύτῃ χρήσασθαι σε  
 τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναί σου τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν-  
 τας ἡμᾶς μῖσος· ἀλλ' αἱ γυναικῆς σε, ὦ Μάρκιε,  
 τί δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο ἀνθ' ὅτου πολεμεῖς αὐταῖς;  
 ποίαν ἐπενέγκασαι περὶ φυγῆς ψῆφον ἢ τίνας  
 5 εἰποῦσαι κατὰ σοῦ πονηροὺς λόγους; τί δ' οἱ παῖ-  
 δες ἡμῶν δρᾶσαντες ἢ διανοηθέντες ἀδικεῖν περὶ  
 σοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἃ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς εἶναι ἢ πόλις ἀλῶ;  
 οὐ τὰ δίκαια διαιτᾷς, ὦ Μάρκιε, καὶ εἰ<sup>1</sup> τοῦτον  
 οἶει δεῖν τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν,  
 ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἀναιτίων φείδεσθαι καὶ φιλίων, οὐκ  
 6 ἄρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ φρονεῖς. ἵνα δὲ  
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀφῶ, τί ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, ὦ πρὸς  
 Διός, εἴ τις ἔροιτό σε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τάφους τῶν  
 προγόνων τί παθὼν ὑπ' αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> ἀνασκάπτεις καὶ  
 τιμὰς αἷς κομίζονται παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀφαιρῇ; θεῶν  
 δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεὼς τίνος ἀδικήματος  
 ὀργῇ συλᾷς καὶ κατακαίεις καὶ ἀνατρέπεις καὶ  
 σεβασμῶν οὐκ ἐᾷς τυγχάνειν τῶν νομίμων; τί

<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰ Reiske : εἰ δὲ A, καὶ B.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' αὐτῶν deleted by Cobet, Jacoby.

patricians been the cause ? And why do you make war upon us who showed so much goodwill toward you during that contest ? But, for that matter, not even all the plebeians were found to desire your banishment ; at any rate, you were condemned by two votes only, so that you could not with justice be an enemy to those plebeians, either, who acquitted you as guilty of no wrongdoing. I will assume, however, if you wish, that it was pursuant to the vote of all the plebeians and the judgement of the entire senate that you suffered this misfortune, and that your hatred against us all is just ; but the women, Marcius, what wrong have they done to you that you should make war upon them ? By what vote did they condemn you to banishment, or what malicious words did they utter against you ? And our children, what wrong have they done or contemplated doing that they should be exposed to captivity and to all the other misfortunes which they would presumably suffer if the city should be taken ? You are not just in your judgements, Marcius ; and if you think you ought to hate those who are guilty and your enemies in such a manner as not to spare even those who are innocent and your friends, then your way of thinking is not such as becomes a good man. But, to omit all these considerations, what, in Heaven's name, could you answer if anyone should ask you what injury you have received from your ancestors to induce you to destroy their sepulchres and to deprive them of the honours they receive from men ? Or resentment at what injury has led you to despoil, burn and demolish the altars of the gods, their shrines and their temples, and to prevent them from receiving their customary worship ? What could you say in answer to this ?

πρὸς ταῦτα φαίης ἄν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὀρώ.  
 7 ταῦτά σοι περί τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν,<sup>1</sup> ὦ Μάρκιε, τῶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν,  
 οὓς ἀπολέσαι προθυμῇ κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 πεπονθώς, τάφων τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πόλεως τῆς  
 γειναμένης τε καὶ θρεψαμένης τὰ δίκαια εἰρήσθω.

XXV. “ Φέρε, εἰ δὲ δὴ<sup>2</sup> πάντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους  
 καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντάς σε γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 τέκνοις δίκας σοι δοῦναι προσῆκε, πάντας δὲ θεοὺς  
 τε καὶ ἥρωας καὶ δαίμονας πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν  
 ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀνοίας, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξ-  
 αἶρετον μηδ' ἀτιμώρητον ἀφεῖσθαι μέρος ὑπὸ σοῦ,  
 οὐχ ἱκανὰς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων εἰσπέπραξαι δίκας  
 τοσοῦτον μὲν φόνον ἐργασάμενος ἀνθρώπων,<sup>3</sup> τοσ-  
 αύτην δὲ χώραν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ λωβησάμενος,  
 τοσαύτας δὲ πόλεις ἐκ βάρβρων ἀναστήσας, ἑορτὰς  
 δὲ καὶ θυσίας καὶ σεβασμοὺς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἐν  
 πολλοῖς τόποις ἀνεόρτους ἀναγκάσας γενέσθαι καὶ  
 2 ἀθύτους καὶ τιμῶν νομίμων ἀμοίρους; ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὐκ<sup>4</sup> ἡξίουν ἄν<sup>5</sup> ἄνδρα ὅτῳ φροντὶς ὀποσηοῦν ἀρε-  
 τῆς ἐστὶν οὔτε συναναιρεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰ φίλια  
 οὔτε χαλεπὸν ὀργὴν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαραίτητον εἰς τοὺς  
 ἐξαμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δίκας  
 3 παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφότα πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας. ἃ μὲν  
 οὖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἴχομεν καὶ  
 παραιτεῖσθαι σε περὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν,  
 ἃ δ' ὑποτίθεσθαι σοι δι' εὐνοίαν οἱ τιμιώτατοι

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> φέρε, εἰ δὲ δὴ Jacoby, ἀλλὰ φέρε εἰ δὲ δὴ Sintenis :  
 ἀφαιρέσει δὲ δὴ O.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνθρώπων B : om. R.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν οὐκ B : μὲν οὖν οὐκ R.

<sup>5</sup> ἄν added by Cary.

For my part, I see nothing that you could say. Let these considerations of justice suffice, Marcius, both in behalf of us of the senate and of the other citizens whom you are eager to destroy, even though you have suffered no wrong at their hands, and in behalf of the sepulchres, the sanctuaries and the city to which you owe both your birth and your rearing.

XXV. "Come now, even if it were fitting that all men, even those who have not wronged you at all, together with their wives and children should make atonement to you, and that all the gods, the heroes and the lesser divinities, the city and the country, should reap the benefit of the tribunes' folly, and that nothing whatever should be exempted, nothing go unrevengeed by you, have you not already exacted sufficient punishment from us all by slaying so many people, ravaging so much territory by fire and sword, razing to the ground so many cities, and doing away in many places with the festivals, the sacrifices and the worship of the gods and other divinities and compelling them to go without their festivals and sacrifices and to have no part in their customary honours? For my part, I should have refused to believe that a man who has the least regard for virtue would either destroy his friends along with his enemies or show himself harsh and inexorable in his anger toward those who offend him in any way, especially after he has already exacted from them many severe retributions. These, then, are the considerations we had to offer you by way of both clearing ourselves and asking you to be lenient toward the plebeians; and the advice which we, your most valued friends, were ready to give you out of goodwill if you were bent on

φιλονεικοῦντι<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι διαλλαττομένῳ  
 πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, ταυτί· ἐν ᾧ τὸ δύνασθαί σοι  
 μάλιστα ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔτι συλλαμβάνει,  
 μετριάσαι καὶ ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην, ἐνθυμηθέντα  
 ὅτι μεταβολὰς ἔχει πάντα<sup>2</sup> τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὐ-  
 δὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φιλεῖ διαμένειν, νεμεσᾶται τε  
 πάντα ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ ὑπερέχοντα, ὅταν εἰς ἄκρον  
 ἐπιφανείας ἀφίκηται, καὶ τρέπεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ μη-  
 δέν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχει τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ  
 μεγάλαυχα φρονήματα καὶ τοὺς ὅρους ἐκβαίνοντα  
 4 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. ὑπάρχει δέ σοι νῦν ἀπάν-  
 των<sup>3</sup> κράτιστα καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον· ἥ τε γὰρ  
 βουλὴ πᾶσα ὥρμηται τὴν κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαί σοι,  
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἕτοιμός ἐστι νόμῳ κυρωθέντι λῦσαι  
 τὴν ἀειφυγίαν. τί οὖν ἔτι κωλύει σε τὰς ἡδίστας  
 καὶ τιμιωτάτας ὅψεις τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σωμά-  
 των ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ κεκομίσθαι τὴν περιμάχητον  
 πατρίδα ἄρχειν τε ὥσπερ σοι προσῆκεν ἀρχόντων  
 καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεμόνων παισί τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις  
 μέγιστον αὔχημα καταλιπεῖν; τούτων μέντοι τῶν  
 ὑποσχέσεων ἡμεῖς ἐγγυηταὶ πασῶν ἐσμεν ὡς αὐ-  
 5 τίκα μάλα γενησομένων. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς  
 εἶχε ψηφίσασθαί σοι τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον οὐθὲν  
 ἐπιεικὲς ἢ μέτριον, ἕως ἀντιπαρεστρατοπέδευκας  
 ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πολεμίων ἔργα δρᾶς· εἰ δ' ἀποσταίης  
 τῶν ὅπλων, ἥξει σοι τὸ περὶ τῆς καθόδου ψήφισμα  
 φερόμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

XXVI. “ Ἀγαθὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑπάρξει σοι  
 διαλλαττομένῳ, μένοντι δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> φιλονεικοῦντι (or φίλων εἴκοντι) Kiessling : φιλονεικοῦντες  
 AC, φίλων ἤκοντες B, Jacoby, φίλων ἤκομεν Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling : ἅπαντα O.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling : πάντων O.



strife, and the promises we could make if you were ready to be reconciled to your country, are as follows : While your power is greatest and Heaven still assists you, we advise you to act with moderation and to husband your good fortune, bearing in mind that all things are subject to change and that nothing is apt to continue long in the same state. All things that wax too great, when they reach the peak of eminence, incur the displeasure of the gods and are brought to naught again. And this is the fate which comes especially to stubborn and haughty spirits and those that overstep the bounds of human nature. It is in your power now to put an end to the war on the best possible terms ; for the whole senate is eager to pass a vote for your return, and the populace is ready by a law ratifying the senate's vote to annul your sentence of perpetual banishment. What is there, then, to prevent you any longer from enjoying once more the most dear and precious sight of your nearest of kin, from recovering your fatherland that is so well worth fighting for, from ruling, as you ought, over rulers and commanding those who command others, and from bequeathing to children and descendants the greatest glory ? Moreover, we are the sureties that all these promises will be performed forthwith. For though at present it would not be well for the senate or the people to pass any mild or lenient vote in your favour while you are encamped against us and are committing hostile acts, yet if you lay down your arms, the decree for your return will soon come to you, brought by us.

XXVI. " These, then, are the advantages you will reap by becoming reconciled ; whereas, if you persist in your resentment and do not give up your

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διαλυομένῳ τὸ μῖσος πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά,  
 ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ δύο τὰ μέγιστα νυνὶ καὶ φανερώτατα  
 ἔρῳ. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι δυσκόλου γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον  
 δ' ἀδυνάτου, πράγματος πονηρὸν ἔρωτα ἔχεις, πό-  
 λεως τῆς Ῥωμαίων καθελεῖν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ταῦτα  
 τοῖς Οὐολούσκων ὅπλοις· ἔπειθ' ὅτι σοι κατορθώ-  
 σαντί τε καὶ μὴ τυχόντι<sup>1</sup> πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπ-  
 ἄρξει δυστυχεστάτῳ νομίζεσθαι. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ταῦτα  
 παρίσταται μοι περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν, ἄκουσον, ὦ Μάρ-  
 κιε, μηθὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μου τῶν λόγων τρα-  
 2 χυνόμενος. σκόπει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου.  
 Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς οἶσθα καὶ σύ, πολλὴ μὲν ἐστὶ  
 νεότης ἐπιχώριος, ἥς εἰ τὸ στασιάζον ἐξαιρεθείη  
 (γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην νυνὶ διὰ  
 τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον· πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους κοινού  
 συνίστασθαι φιλεῖ τὰ διάφορα), οὐχ ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι  
 κρατήσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰτα-  
 λίαν ἔθνων οὐθέν· πολλὴ δ' ἡ Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων συμμάχων τε καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἀποίκων τῆς πόλεως ἰσχὺς,  
 ἣν δι'<sup>3</sup> ὀλίγου πᾶσαν ἐπίκουρον ἥξειν προσδέχου·  
 στρατηγοὶ τε οἷος σὺ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νέοι  
 τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὅσοι παρὰ πάσαις οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῖς  
 3 ἄλλαις πόλεσι. μεγίστη δὲ πασῶν βοήθεια καὶ τὰς  
 ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐλπίδας οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν ψευσαμένη  
 συμπάσης τε ἀμείνων ἀνθρωπίνης ἰσχύος, ἡ παρὰ  
 τῶν θεῶν εὐνοία, δι' οὗς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέραν εἰς  
 τόδε χρόνου τὴν πόλιν τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν ὀγδόην ἤδη  
 τὴν νῦν γενεάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολλῶν  
 4 ἔθνων ἄρχουσιν. μὴ δὲ Πεδανοῖς ἡμᾶς εἰκάσης

<sup>1</sup> μὴ τυχόντι ABC : ἐπιτυχόντι D, δὴ τυχόντι Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ added by Gelenius.

<sup>3</sup> δι' (cf. ix. 10, 5) Kallenberg : om. O, Jacoby.



hatred toward us, many disagreeable things will befall you, of which I shall now mention two as the most important and the most obvious. The first is that you have an evil passion for a thing that is difficult of accomplishment, or rather, impossible—the overthrow of the power of Rome, and that too by the arms of the Volscians ; the second is that, alike if you succeed and if you fail, it will be your lot to be looked upon as the most unfortunate of all men. Hear now, Marcius, the reasons that induce me to entertain this opinion concerning you, and take no offence at my frankness of speech. Consider, first, the impossibility of the thing. The Romans, as you yourself know, have a numerous body of youth of their own nation, whom, if the sedition is once banished from among them—and banished it will now inevitably be by this war, since a common fear is wont to reconcile all differences—surely not the Volscians, nay, no other Italian nation either, will ever overcome. Great also is the power of the Latins and of our other allies and colonies, and that power, be assured, will soon come to our assistance. We have generals too of the same ability as yourself, both older men and young, in greater number than are to be found in any other states. But the greatest assistance of all, and one which in times of danger has never betrayed our hopes, and better too than all human strength combined, is the favour of the gods, by whom this city which we inhabit not only continues to this day to preserve her liberty for already the eighth generation, but is also flourishing and the ruler over many nations. And do not liken us to the

μηδὲ Τολερίνοις μηδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μικροπολίταις  
 ὧν κατέσχευε τὰ πολίχνια· καὶ γὰρ ἡττων ἂν τίς  
 σου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἢ τοσαύτης  
 στρατιᾶς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν καὶ φαυλότητα ἐρυμάτων  
 ἐβιάσατο· ἀλλ' ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ  
 τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεων καὶ  
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου παροῦσαν αὐτῇ τύχην, δι' ἣν ἐκ  
 5 μικρᾶς τοσαύτη γέγονε. καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν,  
 ἣν ἐπάγων<sup>1</sup> ἔργῳ τοσῶδε ἐπιχειρεῖς, μὴ νόμιζε  
 ἡλλάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μέμνησο ἀκριβῶς ὅτι Οὐολούσκων  
 τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν στρατιὰν ἐπάγεις,<sup>2</sup> οὓς ἡμεῖς οἶδε  
 οἱ νῦν ὄντες<sup>3</sup> ἐν πολλαῖς ἐνικῶμεν μάχαις, ὅσakis  
 ἡμῖν ἐτόλμησαν εἰς πόλεμον καταστήναι· ὥστε σὺν  
 τοῖς χείροσιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλων ἴσθι πρὸς τοὺς  
 κρείττονας καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἡττωμένοις διὰ παντὸς πρὸς  
 6 τοὺς νικῶντας αἰεὶ. εἰ δὲ δὴ τάναντία τούτων ἦν,  
 ἐκεῖνό γέ τοι θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, πῶς λέληθέ σε,  
 πολεμικῶν ὄντα πραγμάτων ἔμπειρόν, ὅτι τὸ παρὰ  
 τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμον οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου παραγίνεσθαι φιλεῖ  
 τοῖς τε ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ  
 τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰλλότρια πορευομένοις· οἱ μὲν γε οὐδέν,  
 εἴαν μὴ<sup>4</sup> κατορθώσωσι, βλάπτονται, τοῖς δ' οὐδέν,  
 εἴαν πταίσωσι, καταλείπεται· καὶ τοῦ σφάλλεσθαι  
 τὰς μεγάλας δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ τὰς  
 κρείττους ὑπὸ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς  
 μάλιστ' αἴτιον ἦν. δεινὴ γὰρ ἢ ἀνάγκη, καὶ  
 ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνος ἱκανὸς θάρσος ἐν-  
 θεῖναί τινι καὶ μὴ προϋπάρχον φύσει. εἶχον ἔτι

<sup>1</sup> ἐπάγων O : ἄγων Jacoby, ἐπαγόμενος Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> Kayser : ἐπάγη O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> οἱ νῦν ὄντες O : οἱ νῦν παρόντες Kiessling, om. Cobet, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδέν, εἴαν μὴ B : εἴαν οὐδέν R.

Pedani, the Toleriensens, or the peoples of the other petty towns you have seized ; for a general less able than yourself and with a smaller army than this great host of yours could have reduced small garrisons and slight defences. But consider the greatness of our city, the brilliance of her achievements in war, and the good fortune that abides with her through the favour of the gods, by which she has been raised from a small beginning to her present grandeur. As for your own forces, at the head of which you are undertaking so great an enterprise, do not imagine that they have changed, but bear clearly in mind that you are leading against us an army of mere Volscians and Aequians, whom we here who are still living were wont to defeat in many battles, yes, as often as they dared to come to an engagement with us. Know, then, that you are going to fight with inferior troops against those that are superior to them, and with troops that are accustomed to defeat every time against those that are always victorious. Yet even if the contrary of this were true, it would still be a matter for wonder how you, who are experienced in warfare, could have failed to observe that courage in the face of danger is not apt to be felt in equal measure by those who fight for their own blessings and by those who set out after what belongs to others. For the latter, if they do not succeed, suffer no loss, whereas the others, if they are defeated, have nothing left. And this is the chief reason why large armies have often been beaten by smaller ones and superior forces by inferior ones. For necessity is formidable, and a struggle in which life itself is at stake is capable of inspiring boldness in a man which was not already his by nature. I had many other things to

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πλείω λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

XXVII. “ Εἰς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, ὃν εἰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ κρινεῖς, ὀρθῶς τε εἰρῆσθαι δόξει καὶ παραστήσεται σοι μεταμέλεια τῶν πραττομένων. τίς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος; οὐδενὶ θνητῷ φύντι θεοὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι βεβαίαν ἐπιστήμην ἔδωκαν ἔχειν, οὐδ' ἂν εὖροις ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ὅτῳ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε  
 2 τὰ πράγματα μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσης τῆς τύχης. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονήσει προὔχοντες ἐτέρων, ἦν ὁ μακρὸς βίος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα φέρει,<sup>1</sup> πρὶν ἐγχειρεῖν ὅτῳδῆποτε ἔργῳ, τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον οἶονται δεῖν σκοπεῖν, οὐ θάτερον μόνον ὃ βούλονται γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἐκβησόμενον· μάλιστα δ' οἱ τῶν πολέμων ἡγεμόνες, ὅσῳ μειζόνων τε γίνονται πραγμάτων κύριοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἢ σφαλμάτων ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τούτους ἀναφέρουσιν. ἔπειτα ἂν μὲν εὖρωσι μηδεμίαν ἐνοῦσαν ἢ μικρὰς καὶ ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ μὴ κατορθῶσαι βλάβας, ἅπτονται τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν δέ  
 3 πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, ἀφίστανται. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σὺ ποίησον καὶ σκόπει πρὸ τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν σφαλῆς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρξῃ, τί συμβήσεται σοι παθεῖν. δι' αἰτίας μὲν ἔσῃ παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, μέμψῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν ὥς μείζοσιν ἐπιχειρήσας πράγμασιν ἢ δυνατοῖς.<sup>2</sup> στρατιᾶς δ' ἡμετέρας πάλιν ἐκείσε ἀφικομένης καὶ φθειρούσης τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνεξόμεθα

<sup>1</sup> παθήματα φέρει Kiessling : πάθη μεταφέρει B, μαθήματα φέρει A.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ δυνατοῖς A : ἢ ἀδυνάτοις B, καὶ ἀδυνάτοις Kiessling.

say concerning the impossibility of your undertaking, but this is enough.

XXVII. "I still have one argument left which, if you will judge of it by reason rather than in anger, will not only seem to you to have been well made, but will also cause you to repent of what you are doing. What is this argument? That the gods have not given it to any mortal creature to possess sure knowledge of future events, and you will not find in all past time a man for whom all his undertakings succeeded according to his plan and whom Fortune thwarted in none. For this reason those who excel others in prudence—the fruit of a long life and many lessons from experience—think that they ought, before beginning any enterprise whatever, first to consider its possible outcome—not only the one which they desire for themselves, but also the one which will be contrary to their judgement. And this is particularly true of commanders in wars, the more so because the affairs of which they have charge are of greater importance and because everybody imputes to them the responsibility for both victories and defeats. Then, if they find that no loss inheres in failure, or few and small losses, they set about their undertakings, but if the losses might be many and serious, they abandon them. Do you too, then, follow their example, and before you resort to action, consider what it will be your fate to suffer if you fail in this war and all conditions do not favour you. You will be reproached by those who have received you and you will also blame yourself for having undertaken greater things than are possible; and when our army in turn marches into their territory and lays it waste

μὴ ἀντιτιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν) δυεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις θατέρου, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, οἷς αἴτιος ἔση συμφορῶν μεγάλων, αἰσχροῦς ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἢ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οὓς ἀπο-  
 4 κτενῶν<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ δουλωσόμενος ἦλθες· τάχα δ' ἂν ἐκείνοι, πρὶν ἐν τῷ παθεῖν τι κακὸν γενέσθαι, διαλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἔκδοτον ἀξιώσειαν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ σε παραδιδόναι ὃ πολλοὶ βάρβαροί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς τοιαύτας καταστάντες τύχας ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑπομεῖναι. ἄρα γε μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ταῦτ' εἶναί σοι δοκεῖ καὶ δεῖν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν ὑπεριδεῖν, ἢ κακῶν συμπάντων ἔσχατα<sup>3</sup> παθεῖν;

XXVIII. “Φέρε, εἰ δὲ δὴ κατορθώσης, τί τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσται<sup>4</sup> σοι καὶ περιμάχητον ἀγαθόν, ἢ τίνας ἐξοίσῃ δόξας; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐξέτασον. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν φιλτάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων ὑπάρξει σοι στέρεσθαι σωμάτων, μητρὸς ἀθλίας, ἢ γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ σοὶ πόνων οὐ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδίδως· ἔπειτα γαμετῆς σώφρωνος, ἢ διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ χηρείᾳ κάθηται πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα τὰς σὰς φυγὰς ὀδυρομένη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τέκνων δυεῖν, οὓς ἐχρῆν ἀγαθῶν προγόνων ὄντας ἀπογόνους καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων τιμὰς εὐδοξοῦντας  
 2 ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι. ὧν ἀπάντων οἰκτρὰς καὶ ἀτυχεῖς ἀναγκασθήσῃ θεωρεῖν καταστροφάς, εἰ τολμήσεις προσάγειν τοῖς τείχεσι τὸν πόλεμον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φείσσονται τῶν σῶν οὐθενὸς οἱ περὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Steph. : ἀποκτείνων ABC.      <sup>2</sup> Cobet : δέον O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἔσχατα O : τὰ ἔσχατα Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : ἔστι AB.



—for we shall never submit to such injuries without avenging ourselves on our aggressors—you will not be able to avoid one of these two fates : you will be put to death in a shameful manner either by those very men, in whose eyes you will be to blame for great misfortunes, or by us, whom you came to slay and to enslave. But perhaps those others, before they become involved in any misfortune, may, in the attempt to effect an accommodation with us, think fit to deliver you up to us to be punished—a course to which many, both barbarians and Greeks, have been obliged to submit when reduced to such extremities. Do you look upon these as small matters unworthy of your consideration and believe that you ought to overlook them, or rather as the worst evils of all to suffer ?

XXVIII. “ Come now, if you do succeed, what wonderful, what enviable advantage will be yours, or what glory will you gain ? For this also you must consider. In the first place, it will be your fate to be deprived of those who are dearest and nearest of kin to you—of an unhappy mother, to whom you are making no honourable return for your birth and rearing and for all the hardships she underwent on your account ; and again, of a faithful wife, who through yearning for you sits in solitude and widowhood, lamenting every day and night your banishment ; and furthermore of two sons who ought, being descendants of worthy ancestors, to benefit from their honours by being held in high esteem in a flourishing fatherland. But you will be forced to behold the pitiable and unhappy deaths of all these if you dare to bring the war to our walls. For surely no mercy will be shown to any of your family by those

σφετέρων κινδυνεύοντες καὶ εἰς τὰ ὅμοια<sup>1</sup> κακῶς  
 ὑπὸ σοῦ πάσχοντες, ἀλλ' εἰς αἰκισμοὺς αὐτῶν  
 δεινούς<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὕβρεις ἀνηλεεῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ιδέαν  
 προπηλακισμοῦ χωρήσουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν  
 βιαζόμενοι· καὶ τούτων οὐχ οἱ δρῶντες, ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν  
 3 ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεὶς αἴτιος ἔσῃ σύ.<sup>3</sup> ἡδονὰς  
 μὲν δὴ τοιαύτας καρπώσῃ κατὰ γνώμην χωρή-  
 σαντός σοι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ζῆλον  
 καὶ τιμάς, ὧν ὀρέγεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας,  
 σκόπει ποίας τινάς<sup>4</sup>· μητροκτόνος κεκλήσῃ καὶ  
 παιδοφόνος καὶ γυναικὸς ἀλιθῆριος καὶ πατρίδος  
 ἀλάστωρ, καὶ οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε σπονδῶν οὔθ'  
 ἐστίας, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἀφίκη, κοινωνεῖν ἐθελήσῃ σοι  
 τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων οὐθείς, αὐτοῖς τε οὐκ  
 ἔσῃ τίμιος οἷς εὖ νοίαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ταῦτα δρᾶς,  
 ἀλλὰ καρπωσάμενοί τινα ἕκαστος τούτων ἐκ τῶν  
 σῶν ἀσεβημάτων ὠφέλειαν μισήσουσι τὴν αὐθά-  
 4 δειαν τοῦ τρόπου. ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι, χωρὶς τοῦ  
 μίσους ὃ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιεικεστάτων ἔξεις, καὶ φθό-  
 νος ἀπαντήσεται πολὺς ἐκ τῶν ἴσων καὶ φόβος  
 ἐκ τῶν ἡσσόνων καὶ δι' ἅμφω ταῦτα ἐπιβουλαὶ  
 καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά, ὅσα εἰκὸς συμπεσεῖν  
 ἀνδρὶ ἐρήμῳ φίλων καὶ ἐν ξένῃ ὄντι γῇ. τὰς γὰρ  
 δὴ παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπιπεμπομένας τοῖς  
 ἀγόσια καὶ δεινὰ διαπραξαμένοις ἐρινύας ἐγὼ, ὑφ'  
 ὧν αἰκιζόμενοι ψυχὰς τε καὶ σώματα κακοὺς μὲν  
 διαντλοῦσι βίους, οἰκτρὰς δ' ὑπομένουσιν τελευτάς.

<sup>1</sup> ὅμοια O : οἰκεῖα Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> δεινούς B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> ἔσῃ σύ Reiske : ἔσῃ O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> τινάς Jacoby, τίνας B : καὶ τίνας R.



who are in danger of losing their own and are treated by you with the same cruelty. On the contrary, they will proceed to inflict on them dreadful tortures, pitiless indignities and every other kind of abuse, if they are forced thereto by their calamities. And for all these things it will not be those who do them that are to blame, but you, who impose the necessity upon them. Such will be the pleasures you will reap if this enterprise of yours succeeds ; but as for praise and emulation and honours, which good men ought to strive for, consider of what nature they will be. You will be called the slayer of your mother, the murderer of your children, the assassin of your wife, and the evil genius of your country ; wherever you go, no man who is pious and just will be willing to let you partake with him in sacrifices or libations or in the hospitality of his home ; and even by those for whom out of friendliness you perform these services you will not be held in honour, but every one of them, after reaping some advantage from your impious actions, will detest your arrogant manner. I forbear to add that, besides the hatred which you will encounter on the part of the most fair-minded men, you will have to face much envy from your equals and fear from your inferiors and, in consequence of both the envy and the fear, plots and many other disagreeable things which are likely to befall a man destitute of friends and living in a foreign land. I say nothing, indeed, of the Furies sent by the gods and other divinities to punish those who have been guilty of impious and dreadful deeds—those Furies tormented by whom in both soul and body they drag out a miserable life while awaiting a pitiable death. Bearing these things in mind,

5 ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθείς, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετάγνωθι καὶ παῦσαι μνησικακῶν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι· τύχην τε πάντων αἰτίαν ἡγησάμενος ὦν πέπονθας πρὸς ἡμῶν ἢ δέδρακας ἡμᾶς κακῶν, ἅπιθι χαίρων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ κόμισαι<sup>1</sup> μητρός τε περιβολὰς προσηνεστάτας καὶ γυναικὸς<sup>2</sup> φιλοφροσύνας ἡδίστας καὶ τέκνων ἀσπασμοὺς γλυκυτάτους, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος ὀφείλημα κάλλιστον τῇ γευναμένῃ<sup>3</sup> σε καὶ τηλικούτον ἄνδρα παιδευσαμένην πατρίδι.”

XXIX. Τοιαῦτα διεξελθόντος τοῦ Μηνυκίου μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπε·

“ Σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἅμα τούτῳ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φίλος εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος, εἴ τι δύναμαι, ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε πολίτης ὑμέτερος ἦν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττον, ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀναγκαίοις<sup>4</sup> ἐγένεσθε καιροῖς χρήσιμοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐκ ἀπεστράφητέ με καταφρονήσει τῆς τότε τύχης, ὡς οὔτε φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμενον ἔτι οὔτ’ ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, ἀλλὰ χρηστοὶ καὶ βέβαιοι διεμείνατε φίλοι μητρός τε τῆς ἐμῆς κηδόμενοι καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων, καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς κουφοτέρας 2 ποιοῦντες ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιμελείαις. τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέχθομαί τε ὡς δύναμαι μάλιστα καὶ πολεμῶ<sup>5</sup> καὶ οὐδέποτε μισῶν αὐτοὺς παύσομαι· οἱ με ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, ἐφ’ οἷς τιμᾶσθαι προσῆκεν, ὡς τὰ μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότα περὶ τὸ κοινὸν αἰσchrῶς ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὔτε μητέρα αἰδεσθέντες τὴν<sup>6</sup> ἐμὴν οὔτε παιδίᾳ ἐλεή-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ κόμισαι B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> τε after γυναικὸς deleted by Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> Cobet : γενησομένη A, γενησαμένη R.

Marcus, repent of your purpose and give up your grudge against your country; and regarding Fortune as having been the cause of all the evils you have suffered at our hands or have inflicted on us, return with joy to your family, receive a mother's most affectionate embraces, a wife's sweetest welcome, and the children's tenderest greetings, and give yourself back to your country as a most honourable repayment of the debt you owe to her for having given birth and rearing to so great a man."

XXIX. Minucius having spoken in this manner, Marcus after a short pause replied :

"To you, Minucius, and to all you others who have been sent here with him by the senate I am a friend and am ready to do you any service in my power, because not only earlier, when I was your fellow citizen and had a share in the administration of public affairs, you assisted me in many times of need, but also after my banishment you did not turn from me in contempt of my then unhappy fate, as if I were no longer able either to serve my friends or to hurt my enemies, but you continued to show yourselves good and staunch friends by taking care of my mother, my wife and my children, and alleviating their misfortune by your personal attentions. But to the rest of the Romans I am as hostile as I can be and am at war with them, and I shall never cease to hate them; for they, in return for the many glorious achievements for which I deserved honour, drove me out of my country with ignominy, as being guilty of the most grievous crimes against the commonwealth, and showed neither respect for my mother, nor com-

<sup>4</sup> ἀναγκαίους B : ἀγαθοῖς A.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ πολέμῳ O : om. Reudler, Jacoby. <sup>6</sup> τὴν B : om. R.

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σαντες οὐτ' ἄλλο πάθος ἡμερον οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 3 ἐμαῖς λαβόντες τύχαις. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦτο, εἰ μὲν  
 αὐτοὶ δεῖσθέ του παρ' ἡμῶν, λέγετε μηθὲν ὀκνοῦν-  
 τες, ὡς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσοντες τῶν δυνατῶν, περὶ  
 δὲ φιλίας καὶ διαλλαγῶν, ἃς ἀξιοῦτέ με ποιήσα-  
 σθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς καθόδου,  
 παύσασθε διαλεγόμενοι. πάννυ γὰρ ἀγαπητῶς δεξαί-  
 μην ἂν εἰς τοιαύτην κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ  
 μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα ἢ κακία φέρεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν  
 κακούργων τιμωρίας οἱ μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότες ὑπο-  
 4 μένουσιν. ἐπεὶ, φέρε, πρὸς θεῶν εἴπατέ μοι, τίνος  
 ἀδικήματος αἰτία ταύτης ἐγὼ πεπείραμαι τῆς  
 τύχης, ἣ ποῖον ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔργον ἀνάξιον τῶν  
 ἐμαυτοῦ προγόνων; πρώτην ἐστρατευσάμην ἔξ-  
 οδον κομιδῇ νέος ὢν, ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς βία  
 κατιόντας ἡγωνιζόμεθα. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἀρισ-  
 τείοις ἀνεδούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ στεφάνοις  
 πολίτην ὑπερασπίσας καὶ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας.  
 5 ἔπειθ' ὅσας ἄλλας ἱππικὰς καὶ πεζικὰς ἡγωνισάμην  
 μάχας, ἐπιφανῆς ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐγενόμην καὶ τὰρισ-  
 τεῖα ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἔλαβον· καὶ οὔτε πόλις ἐκ τειχο-  
 μαχίας ἐάλω τις ἧς οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἐπέβην ἢ  
 μόνος<sup>1</sup> ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις, - οὔτε φυγὴ πολεμίων ἐκ  
 παρατάξεως ἐγένετο ἧς οὐκ ἐμὲ αἰτιώτατον γενέ-  
 σθαι πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὠμολόγουν, οὔτε ἄλλο  
 τῶν λαμπρῶν ἢ γενναίων ἐν πολέμοις ἔργων οὐ-  
 θὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτε εὐτολμίας εἴτε εὐτυχίας  
 ἐπράχθη.

XXX. “Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι τις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἢ μόνος Reudler, ἢ μόνοις C : om. AB.

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<sup>1</sup> The *corona civica*, which bore the simple inscription  
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passion for my children, nor any other humane feeling in view of my misfortunes. Now that you have been informed of this, if you desire anything from me for yourselves, declare it without hesitation, in the assurance that you shall fail of naught that is in my power; but as regards friendship and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into with the populace in the hope that they will let me return, discuss it no more. Great indeed would be the satisfaction with which I should accept restoration to a city like this, in which vice receives the rewards of virtue and the innocent await the punishment of criminals! For come, tell me, in Heaven's name, with what crime am I charged that I should have experienced this misfortune? Or what course have I pursued that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my first campaign when I was very young, at the time we fought against the kings who were endeavouring to bring about their restoration by force. As a result of that battle I was crowned by the general with a wreath of valour for having saved a citizen and slain an enemy.<sup>1</sup> After that, in every other action I was engaged in, whether of the horse or foot, I distinguished myself in all and from all received the rewards for valour. And there was neither any town taken by storm whose walls I was not the very first or among the first few to mount, nor any flight of the enemy from the field of battle where all who were present did not acknowledge that I had been the chief cause of it, nor any other signal or brave action performed in war without the assistance of either my valour or my good fortune.

XXX. "These are exploits, it is true, that some

OB CIVEM SERVATVM. The slaying of the foe is not expressly mentioned, as a rule.

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ἕτερος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοσαῦτα, λέγειν· ἀλλὰ πόλιν ὅλην τίς δύναιτ' ἂν καυχήσασθαι στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς ἐλών, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Κοριολανῶν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ στρατιὰν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἐπίκουρον τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις  
 2 ἀφικομένην; ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς ἀποδειξάμενος, ἐξόν μοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δ' ἄργυρον ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ γῆν πολλήν καὶ ἀγαθήν, οὐκ ἠξίωσα, ἀλλ' ἀνεπίφθονον ὡς μάλιστα βουλευθεὶς ἐμαυτὸν· παρασχεῖν, πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἓνα μόνον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβον καὶ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ξένον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸν δ' ἄλλον πλοῦτον  
 3 εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἔθηκα φέρων. πότερον οὖν τιμωρίας ἄξιός ἦν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέχειν, ἢ τιμὰς λαμβάνειν, καὶ πότερον ὑπὸ τοῖς κακίστοις γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἡττοσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτά με ἀπήλασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἀκόλαστος καὶ πολυτελής καὶ παράνομος ἦν; καὶ τίς ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαί τινα διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς παρανόμους ἡδονὰς ἢ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντα ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα ἢ χρημάτων στερόμενον ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ συμφορᾷ χρησάμενον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν με οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἠτιάσατο οὐδὲ διέβαλεν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἐμαρτυρεῖτό μοι καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι  
 4 βίος. 'ἀλλ' ἢ προαίρεσις, νῆ Δία,' φαίη τις ἂν, 'ἢ τῶν πολιτευμάτων σου μισηθεῖσα ταύτην ἐξεργάσατό σοι τὴν συμφοράν. ἐξὸν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι τὴν



other brave man also might perhaps be able to cite in his favour, even if not so many of them ; but what general or captain could boast of capturing an entire city, as I captured Corioli, and also of putting to flight the enemy's army on that very same day, as I did that of the Antiates when it came to the assistance of the besieged ? <sup>1</sup> I refrain from adding that after I had given such proofs of my valour, when I might have received out of the spoils a large amount of gold and silver, as well as slaves, beasts of burden and cattle, and much fertile land, I refused, but desiring to secure myself as far as possible against envy, took only a single war-horse out of the spoils and my personal friend from among the captives, and all the rest of the wealth I brought and turned over to the state. Did I, then, for these actions deserve to suffer punishments, or to receive honours ? To become subject to the basest of the citizens, or myself to issue orders to my inferiors ? Or perhaps it was not for these reasons that the populace banished me, but rather because in my private life I was unrestrained, extravagant and lawless ? And yet who can point to anyone who because of my lawless pleasures has either been banished from his country, or lost his liberty, or been deprived of his money, or met with any other misfortune ? On the contrary, no one even of my enemies ever accused or charged me with any of these things, but all bore witness that even my daily life was irreproachable. ' But, great heavens, man,' some one may say, ' it was your political principles that aroused hatred and brought this misfortune upon you. For when you had it in your power to choose the better side, you chose the

<sup>1</sup> See vi. 92 ff.



κρείττω μερίδα τὴν χείρονα εἴλου καὶ διετελείς  
 ἅπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἐξ ὧν καταλυθή-  
 σεται μὲν ἡ πατριος ἀριστοκρατία, κύριος δ' ἔσται  
 τῶν κοινῶν ὄχλος ἀμαθὴς καὶ πονηρός.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ'  
 ἔγωγε τὰναντία ἔπραττον, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὅπως  
 ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν διὰ παντὸς ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ  
 ὁ πατριος διαμενεῖ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας προὔνοού-  
 5 μην. ἀντὶ τούτων μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευ-  
 μάτων, ἃ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ζηλωτὰ εἶναι ἐδόκει,  
 τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ταύτας καὶ μακαρίας κεκόμισμαι  
 παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμοιβάς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
 μόνον ἐξελαθείς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον  
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπαίρουσά με κεναῖς  
 ἐλπίσιν, ἥνίκα τοῖς δημάρχοις τυραννίδα περι-  
 βαλλομένοις ἠναντιούμην ὡς αὐτὴ παρέξουσα τὸ  
 ἀσφαλές, ἐπειδὴ κίνδυνόν τινα ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν  
 ὑπείδετο, ἀπέστη καὶ παρέδωκέ με τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.  
 6 σὺ μέντοι τότε αὐτὸς ὑπάτος ἦσθα, ὦ Μηνύκιε,  
 ὅτε τὸ προβούλευμα τὸ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἐγένετο,  
 καὶ ἥνίκα Οὐαλέριος ὁ παραδιδόναι με τῷ δήμῳ  
 παραινῶν σφόδρα ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις εὐδοκίμει, καὶ γὰρ  
 δεδιὼς μὴ ψήφου δοθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων  
 ἀλῶ, συνέγων καὶ παρέξειν ἑμαυτὸν ὑπεσχόμεν  
 ἐκόντα<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.

XXXI. “ Ἴθι δὴ μοι, Μηνύκιε, ἀπόκριναι, πό-  
 τερα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῆς τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἐφάνην  
 εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα ἐπολιτευόμην τε καὶ ἔπρατ-  
 τον, ἢ τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἅπασι ταῦτα<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐδόκει τότε καὶ πάντες με ἀπηλάσσετε, φανερόν ὅτι  
 πάντες οἱ ταῦτα βουλευθέντες ἀρετὴν μισεῖτε, καὶ  
 τόπος οὐδεὶς ἐστίν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεχόμενος καλο-

<sup>1</sup> Reiske : ἥξοντα O.

<sup>2</sup> Grasberger : ταῦτα O.

worse, and you continued to say and do everything calculated to effect the overthrow of the established aristocracy and to put the whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of an ignorant and base multitude.' - But I, Minucius, pursued a course the very reverse of that, and sought to provide that the senate should always administer the public business and that the established constitution should be maintained. In return, however, for these honourable principles, which our forefathers thought worthy of emulation, I have received this happy, this blessed reward from my country—to have been banished, not by the populace alone, Minucius, but, long before that, by the senate, which encouraged me at first with vain hopes while I was opposing the tribunes in their efforts to establish a tyranny, promising that it would itself provide for my security, and then, upon the first suspicion of any danger from the plebeians, abandoned me and delivered me up to my enemies ! But you yourself were consul at the time, Minucius, when the senate passed the preliminary decree concerning my trial and when Valerius, who advised delivering me up to the populace, gained great applause by his speech, and I, fearing that, if the question were put, I should be condemned by the senators, acquiesced and promised to appear voluntarily for trial.

XXXI. " Come, answer me, Minucius, did I seem to the senate also to deserve punishment for having promoted and pursued the best measures, or to the populace only ? For if you were all of the same opinion at that time and if all of you banished me, it is plain that all of you who were of this mind hate virtue and that there is no place in your city for

- καγαθίαν· εἰ δὲ βιασθεῖσα ἡ βουλὴ συνεχώρησε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, οὐ γνώμης, ὁμολογεῖτε δήπου πονηροκρατεῖσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς εἶναι τὴν βουλήν ὣν ἂν προέλῃται κυρίαν.
- 2 ἔπειτα εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξιούτέ με κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ κρεῖττον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἄρχεται; πολλὴν ἄρα κατεγνώκατέ μου μανίαν. φέρε, καὶ δὴ πέπεισμαι καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ ἀξιούτε, κατελήλυθα, τίς ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσται μου διάνοια καὶ τίνα βίον ζήσομαι; πότερα τὰσφαλές καὶ ἀκίνδυνον αἰρούμενος ἀρχάς τε καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ ὣν ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι μετῴων, θεραπεύειν ὑπομενῶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν ὄχλον; πονηρὸς ἄρα ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γενήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι τῆς προτέρας ἀρετῆς ὄφελος.
- 3 ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦθεσι μένων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας φυλάττων ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ ταῦτ' ἀποαιρουμένοις; εἴτα οὐ πρόδηλον ὅτι πολεμήσει μοι πάλιν ὁ δῆμος καὶ δίκας ἐτέρας πάλιν ἀξιώσει λαμβάνειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἔγκλημα ποιούμενος, ὅτι τῆς καθόδου δι' ἐκείνου τυχὼν οὐ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ πολιτεύομαι; οὐκ
- 4 ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἔπειτ' ἀναφανήσεται τις ἕτερος Ἰκιλίῳ παραπλήσιος ἢ Δεκίῳ θρασὺς δημαγωγός, ὃς αἰτιάσεται με διστάσαι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πράττειν ἐπιβουλήν ἢ προδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν<sup>1</sup> ἢ τυραννίδι, ὥσπερ καὶ Δέκιος ἡτιάσατο, ἐπιχειρεῖν ἢ ἄλλο ἀδικεῖν, ὅτιδῆποτε ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσει

<sup>1</sup> τὴν πόλιν B : om. R.

loyalty to principle. But if the senate was forced to yield to the populace and its action was the result of compulsion, not of conviction, you senators admit, I take it, that you are governed by the baser element and that the senate has not the power to act in any matter as it thinks fit. After this do you ask me to return to such a city, in which the better element is governed by the worse? Then you have judged me capable of an act of sheer madness! But come, suppose that I have been persuaded, and having put an end to the war as you desire, have returned home; what sentiments shall I entertain after this, and what manner of life shall I live? Shall I choose the safe and secure course, and, in order to obtain magistracies, honours and the other advantages of which I think myself worthy, consent to court the mob which has the power of bestowing them? In that case I shall change from a worthy to a base citizen and shall reap no benefit from my former virtue. Or, maintaining the same character and observing the same political principles, shall I oppose those who do not make the same choice? Then is it not obvious that the populace will again make war upon me and insist on exacting fresh penalties, making this very point their first charge against me, that after obtaining my return at their hands I do not humour them in the measures I pursue? You cannot deny it. Then some other bold demagogue, an Icilius or a Decius, will appear who will accuse me of setting the citizens at variance with one another, of forming a plot against the populace, of betraying the commonwealth to the enemy, or of aiming at tyranny, even as Decius charged me, or of any other crime that may occur to him; for hatred will never be at a loss to find an

5 τὸ μισοῦν αἰτίας. ἤξει τε πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκλή-  
μασι καὶ ταυτὶ φερόμενα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὅσα ἐν  
τῷ πολέμῳ πέπρακταί μοι τούτῳ, ὅτι χώραν  
ὑμῶν τέτμηκα καὶ λείαν ἀπελήλακα καὶ πόλεις ἀφ-  
ῆρημαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους τοὺς  
μὲν πεφόνευκα, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδέδωκα.  
ταῦτ' ἐὰν οἱ κατήγοροι λέγωσι, τί φήσω πρὸς  
αὐτοὺς ἀπολογούμενος ἢ τίνι βοήθεια χρήσομαι;

XXXII. “Ἄρ' οὐ φανερόν ὅτι καλλιλογεῖτε καὶ  
εἰρωνεύεσθε, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργῳ περι-  
θέντες ἀνοσίῳ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάθοδόν μοι δίδοτε,  
ἀλλὰ σφάγιόν με τῷ δήμῳ κατάγετε, τάχα μὲν καὶ  
βεβουλευμένοι τοῦτο πράττειν· οὐθέν γὰρ ἔτι μοι  
2 χρηστὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ βού-  
λεσθε—τίθημι γάρ—οὐδὲν ὦν πείσομαι προορώ-  
μενοι, τί οὖν ἔσται μοι τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγνοίας ἢ  
μωρίας ὄφελος, κωλύειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν οἶοι ἦτε  
δυνησομένων,<sup>1</sup> χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ  
σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαζομένων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι  
μὲν<sup>2</sup> οὐ συνοίσει μοι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἡδε, ἣν ὑμεῖς  
μὲν κάθοδον καλεῖτε, ἐγὼ δὲ ταχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν  
ὄλεθρον, οὐ πολλῶν οἶομαι δεῖν ἔτι λόγων· ὅτι δ'  
οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἢ τιμὴν ἢ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν—  
ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων, ὦ Μηνύκιε, πρόνοιαν ἔχειν  
με ἡξίους, εὖ ποιῶν—ἀλλ' αἰσχιστά μοι καὶ ἀν-  
οσιώτατα πραχθήσεται πεισθέντι ὑμῖν, ἄκουσον ἐν  
3 τῷ μέρει. ἐγὼ πολέμιος ἐγενόμην τούτοις<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
πολλὰ ἡδίκησα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῇ πατρίδι

<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἂν οἶοι ἦτε δυνησομένων Sintenis : οὐδ' ἂν οἶοι τε δυνη-  
σομένων B, οὐδ' ἂν βούλησθε οὐ δυνάμενοι A.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> τούτοις Kiessling, τουτοισὶ Cobet : τούτοις οὐολούσκοις B,  
τοῖς οὐολούσκοις A.

accusation. And, besides the other charges, there will also be brought up presently all the things I have done in this war—that I have laid waste your country, driven off booty, taken your towns, slain some of those who defended them and delivered up others to the enemy. If my accusers charge me with these things, what shall I say to them in my defence, or on what assistance shall I rely?

XXXII. “Is it not therefore plain, Minucius, that you envoys are indulging in fair words and dissimulation, cloaking with a specious name a wicked design? For surely it is not my restoration that you are offering me, but you are taking me back to the populace as a sacrificial victim, perhaps because you have actually planned to do this (for it no longer occurs to me to hold any good opinion of you); but if you wish it so—I am merely assuming this—that it is because you do not foresee any of the things that I shall suffer, what advantage shall I gain from your ignorance or folly, since you will not be able to prevent anything even if you are so disposed, but are compelled to gratify the populace in this too, as in everything else? Now to show that from the point of view of my safety there will be no gain to me in this—‘restoration,’ as you call it, but I a quick road to destruction, not many more words are called for, I think; but to prove that it will not enhance my reputation, either, or my honour, or my piety—for you, Minucius, asked me to take these into consideration, and rightly—but that, on the contrary, I shall be acting in a most shameful and impious manner if I follow your advice, pray hear in turn what I have to say. I became an enemy to these men here and did them many injuries during the war while I



πράττων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κλέος. οὐκοῦν προσῆκέ μοι τιμαῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, μισεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικοημένων; εἰ γοῦν τι τῶν εἰκότων ἐγένετο. ἀνέτρεψε δ' <sup>1</sup> ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἡ τύχη, καὶ εἰς τὰναντία μετέθηκε τὰς ἀξιώσεις. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν τούτοις<sup>2</sup> ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἀφείλεσθέ με πάντα τὰμὰ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ποιήσαντες ἐρρίψατε· οὗτοι δ' οἱ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παθόντες, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἄπολιν  
4 ὑπεδέξαντό με ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιήσασι μόνον οὕτω λαμπρὸν καὶ μεγαλόψυχον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσάν μοι ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς αἱ μέγισται παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν. ἐὼ τᾶλλα· ἀλλὰ νυνὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδεδείχασί με αὐτοκράτορα τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς καὶ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐπ'  
5 ἐμοὶ πεποιήκασι μόνῳ. φέρε δὴ, τίνα λαβὼν καρδίαν προδοίην ἂν ἔτι τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν τηλικαύταις κεκόσμημαι τιμαῖς, οὐθὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἔλαττον ἀδικηθεῖς; εἰ μὴ ἄρα αἱ χάριτες αὐτῶν ἀδικουσί με, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐμαί· καλὴν γε δόξαν οἷσι μοι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γνωσθεῖσα ἢ παλιμπροδοσία.<sup>3</sup> τίς δ' οὐκ<sup>4</sup> ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ με ἀκούσας ὅτι τοὺς μὲν φίλους, ὑφ' ὧν εὖ πάσχειν μοι προσῆκε, πολεμίους εὐρών, τοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, ὑφ' ὧν ἐχρῆν με ἀπολωλέναι, φίλους, ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν μὲν τὰ μισοῦντα φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ φιλοῦντα, τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἔσχον;

XXXIII. “Ἰθι δὴ σκόπει καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέτρεψεν Bb : καὶ ἂν ἔστρεψεν A, ἀλλ' ἀνέστρεψεν Reiske, ἀντέστρεψε δ' Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> τούτοις B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : πάλιν προδοσία O.



was acquiring sovereignty, power and glory for my country. Was it not fitting, therefore, that I should be honoured by those I had benefited and hated by those I had injured? Certainly, if what one could reasonably expect had happened. But Fortune upset both these expectations and reversed the two principles. For you Romans, on whose account I was an enemy to these men, deprived me of all my possessions, and making a nobody of me, cast me off; while they, who had suffered those dire evils at my hands, received me into their cities, the resourceless, homeless, humbled outcast. And not content with doing this only, an action so splendid and magnanimous, they also conferred on me citizenship in all their cities, as well as the magistracies and honours that in their country are highest. To omit the rest, they have now appointed me supreme commander of their expeditionary force and have committed to me alone all the interests of their state. Look you, with what heart would I now betray these men by whom I have been decked with such honours, when I have suffered no injury, great or small, at their hands? Unless, indeed, their favours are injurious to me, as mine are to you! A fine reputation forsooth, throughout all the world will such double treachery bring me, when it shall be known! Who would not praise me on hearing that when I found my friends, from whom I had the right to expect kindness, to be my enemies, and my foes, by whom I should have been put to death, to be my friends, instead of hating those who hate me and loving those who love me, I took the opposite view!

XXXIII. "Come now, Minucius, consider next

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<sup>4</sup> οὐκ O : om. Sylburg, Jacoby.

Μηνύκιε, οἶά μοι νῦν τε ἀπήντηται καί, ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθεῖς ὑμῖν προδῶ τὴν τούτων πίστιν, οἶα τὸν λοιπὸν ὑπάρξει μοι βίον. νῦν μὲν γε πάσης πράξεως ἧς ἂν ἄψωμαι καθ' ὑμῶν συλλαμβάνουσί μοι, 2 καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς πείρας ἀποτυγχάνω. καὶ τοῦτο πηλίκον οἶεσθε εἶναι τεκμήριον εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ γὰρ δὴ<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος οὐχ ὅσιον ἐγὼ πόλεμον ἐνεστησάμην, ἅπαντα χρῆν<sup>2</sup> ἐναντία μοι γίνεσθαι τὰ<sup>3</sup> παρὰ θεῶν· ὁπότε δ' οὐρίῳ πνεούσῃ κέχρημαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους τύχῃ, καὶ ὁπόσοις ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι πράγμασι κατ' ὀρθὸν ἅπαντά μοι χωρεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι εὐσεβῆς εἰμι ἀνὴρ καὶ πράξεις 3 προήρημαι καλὰς. τί οὖν, ἐὰν μεταβάλωμαι καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα αὖξιν, τὰ δὲ τούτων ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν ζητῶ, γενήσεται μοι; ἄρ' οὐχὶ τὰναντία, καὶ πονηρὰν νέμεσιν ἔξω παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου τοῖς ἡδικημένοις τιμωρόν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ ταπεινοῦ μέγας διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγενόμην, οὕτως αὖθις ἐκ μεγάλου ταπεινὸς γενήσομαι, καὶ τὰμὰ παθήματα παιδεύ- 4 ματα γενήσεται τοῖς ἄλλοις; ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρίσταται περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου φρονεῖν, καὶ πείθομαί γε τὰς ἐρινύας ἐκείνας τὰς φοβερὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τοῖς ἀνόσιόν τι διαπραξαμένοις, ὧν καὶ σὺ ἐμνήσθης, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τότε μοι παρακολουθήσειν ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αἰκιζομένας, ὅταν ἐγκαταλίπω καὶ προδῶ τοὺς σώσαντάς με ἀπολωλῶτα ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σῶσαι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς προσθέντας εὐεργεσίας, οἷς ἐγγυητὰς ἔδωκα θεοὺς, ὥς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κακῷ τὴν ἄφιξιν ποιησάμενος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δὴ Cobet : αὐ O.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby : ἐχρῆν O.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ B : om. R.

the matter of the gods' treatment of me, what it has shown itself to be at present and, if I do let you persuade me to betray the trust reposed in me by these people, what it will be for the rest of my life. At present they assist me in every enterprise I undertake against you and in no attempt am I unsuccessful. And how weighty a testimony to my piety do you consider that? For surely, if I had undertaken an impious war against my country, the gods ought to have opposed me in everything; but since I enjoy the favouring breeze of Fortune in the wars I wage and everything that I attempt goes steadily forward for me, it is evident that I am a pious man and that my choice of conduct has been honourable. What, then, will be my fate if I change my course and endeavour to increase your power and humble theirs? Will it not be just the reverse, and shall I not incur the dire wrath of Heaven which avenges the injured, and just as by the help of the gods I from a low estate have become great, shall I not in turn from a great be brought again to a low estate, and my sufferings become lessons to the rest of the world? These are the thoughts that occur to me concerning the gods; and I am persuaded that those Furies you mentioned, Minucius, so frightful and inexorable toward those who have committed any impious deed, will dog my steps and torment both my soul and body only when I abandon and betray those who preserved me after you had ruined me, and, at the same time as they preserved me, conferred upon me many fine marks of their favour, and to whom I gave the gods as guarantors of my pledge that I had not come among them with the purpose of doing them any injury and

φυλάξων<sup>1</sup> τὴν εἰς τόδε χρόνου καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον συνοῦσάν μοι πίστιν.

XXXIV. “Ὅταν δὲ φίλους ἔτι καλῆς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς ἐξελάσαντάς με καὶ πατρίδα τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην, φύσεώς τε νόμους ἀνακαλῆ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁσίων διαλέγῃ, φαίνη μοι τὰ κοινότατα καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγνοούμενα μόνος ἀγνοεῖν· ὅτι τὸ φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον οὔτε ὄψεως ὀρίζει χαρακτήρ οὔτε ὀνόματος θέσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χρεῖαις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δηλοῦται τούτων ἐκάτερον, φιλοῦμέν τε πάντες τὰ ὠφελούντα καὶ μισοῦμεν τὰ βλάπτοντα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων τινῶν ἡμῖν τόνδε θεμένων τὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ ἀνελούντων<sup>2</sup> ποτὲ αὐτόν, ἐὰν τὰναντία αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ<sup>3</sup> χρόνου πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως μετεληφόσι κείμενον καὶ  
<sup>2</sup> εἰς αἰὲ διαμενοῦντα παραλαβόντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλους τε ἀπαρνούμεθα ὅταν ἀδικήσωσι, καὶ ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα<sup>4</sup> ὅταν τις ἡμῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν ὑπάρξῃ χάρις, πόλιν τε τὴν γειναμένην ἡμᾶς, ὅταν μὲν ὠφελῇ, στέργομεν, ὅταν δὲ βλάβῃ, καταλείπομεν, οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγαπῶντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ  
<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οὕτως<sup>5</sup> ἐπέρχεται καθ’ ἓνα φρονεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεσιν ὅλαις καὶ ἔθνεσιν, ὥστε ὁ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρώμενος οὐδὲν ἕξω τῶν θείων ἀξιοῖ νομίμων, οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ δικαίωσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα<sup>6</sup> πράττοντα ἑμαυτὸν τά τε δίκαια ἡγοῦμαι πράττειν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ καλὰ

<sup>1</sup> φυλάξων ACmg : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνελούντων B : ἀνελόντων R.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ B : om. R.

<sup>4</sup> φίλους ποιούμεθα ACmg : φιλοποιοούμεθα BC.

<sup>5</sup> οὕτως B (?), Sylburg : om. AC.

<sup>6</sup> ταῦτα B : om. R.

that I would keep with them the faith which I have hitherto preserved pure and untarnished.

XXXIV. "When you call those still my friends, Minucius, who banished me and that nation my country which has renounced me, when you appeal to the laws of Nature and discuss the obligations of religion, you seem to me to be ignorant of the most common facts, of which no one but you is ignorant—namely, that a friend or an enemy is not determined either by the lineaments of a face or by the giving of a name, but both are made manifest by their services and by their deeds, and that we all love those who do us good and hate those who do us harm. No men laid down this law for us nor will men ever annul it if the opposite course seems to them better; on the contrary, it has been enacted from the beginning of time by the universal Nature for all creatures endowed with sense, a heritage of man to remain in force forever. For this reason we renounce our friends when they injure us and make friends of our enemies when some kindly service is done for us by them; and we cherish the country that gave us birth when it helps us, but abandon it when it harms us, since our affection is based, not on the place, but on the benefit it confers. These are the sentiments not merely of individual persons in private life, but of whole cities and nations. Consequently, whoever applies this principle demands nothing not sanctioned by religious usage and does nothing that contravenes the common judgement of all mankind. I, therefore, consider that in doing these things I am doing what is just, advantageous

καὶ ἅμα καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσιώτατα· καὶ οὐ  
δέομαι δικαστὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τοὺς εἰκασμῶ  
καὶ δόξῃ τεκμαιρομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους,  
ἐπειδὴ θεοὶς ἀρέσκοντα πράττω. οὐ γὰρ ἀδυνάτοις  
ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω πράγμασι θεοὺς ἔχων αὐτῶν  
ἡγεμόνας, εἶγε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν  
ἤδη τὰ μέλλοντα.

XXXV. “ Περὶ δὲ τῆς μετριότητος, ἐφ’ ἣν  
παρακαλεῖτέ με, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν τὸ  
‘Ρωμαίων γένος μηδ’ ἐκ βάθρων ὅλην ἀναστήσαι  
τὴν πόλιν, εἶχον μὲν,<sup>2</sup> ὦ Μηνύκιε, λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ  
ἐγὼ τούτου κύριος οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων  
ἐστὶ λόγος, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν<sup>3</sup> στρατηγός εἰμι τῆς  
δυνάμεως, πολέμου δὲ<sup>4</sup> καὶ εἰρήνης οὗτοι κύριοι·  
ὥστε παρὰ τούτων αἰτεῖσθέ γε ἀνοχὰς ἐπὶ δι-  
<sup>2</sup> αλλαγαῖς,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ’ ἐμοῦ. οὐ μὲν<sup>6</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ  
θεοὺς σέβων τοὺς πατρώους καὶ τάφους αἰδούμενος  
προγόνων καὶ γῆν ἐξ ἧς ἔφυν, γυναικὰς τε καὶ  
παῖδας ὑμῶν ἐλεῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείοις οὔσι τὰ  
πατέρων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡξεί<sup>7</sup> σφάλματα, καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα  
τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δι’ ὑμᾶς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς προ-  
χειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως,<sup>8</sup> τάδε ἀποκρίνομαι·  
ἐὰν ἀποδῶσι<sup>9</sup> ‘Ρωμαῖοι Οὐολούσκοις χώραν τε  
ὅσην αὐτοὺς ἀφήρηται καὶ πόλεις ὅσας κατέχουσιν  
ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἐποίκους,<sup>10</sup> φιλίαν τε ποιή-  
σονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον καὶ ἰσοπολι-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἅμα καὶ Cary : καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα καὶ O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν B : οὖν AC, ἄν Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν added by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ B : om. R.

<sup>5</sup> αἰτεῖσθε γε ἀνοχὰς ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς B : αἰτεῖσθε εἶτε ἀνοχὰς  
εἶτε διαλλαγὰς R.

<sup>6</sup> After οὐ μὲν the MSS. have ταύτην γε δίδωμι τὴν ἀπόκρι-  
σιν, which Reiske deleted.



and honourable, and at the same time what is most holy in the eyes of the gods ; and I do not care to take as judges of my conduct mere men who infer the truth from guesswork and opinion, since the gods are pleased with what I do. Nor do I agree that I am undertaking impossible things when I have the gods as my guides therein—not, at least, if one is to judge of the future by the past.

XXXV. “ As regards the moderation which you recommend to me and your plea that I should not utterly destroy the Roman race or overthrow the city from its foundations, I might answer, Minucius, that this is not in my power to decide, nor should your plea be addressed to me. No, I am general of the army, but as to war and peace these men here have the decision ; so apply to them for a truce as a step toward reconciliation, and not to me. Nevertheless, because I revere the gods of my fathers and respect the sepulchres of my ancestors and the land which gave me birth, and feel compassion for your wives and children, on whom, though undeserving, will fall the errors of their fathers and husbands, and, not least of all, on account of you men, Minucius, who have been chosen envoys by the commonwealth,<sup>1</sup> I answer as follows : If the Romans will return to the Volscians the land they have taken from them and the cities they hold, first recalling their colonists, and if they will enter into a league of perpetual friendship with them and give them equal rights of citizenship,

<sup>1</sup> Or, following Kiessling's emendation, “ by the senate.”

<sup>7</sup> ἤξει BC : ἤξειν Cmg, ἔξειν A.

<sup>8</sup> πόλεως O : βουλῆς Kiessling.

<sup>9</sup> Jacoby : ἀποδιδῶσι O.

<sup>10</sup> ἐποίκουσ ABa : ἀποίκουσ Bb.



τείας μεταδῶσιν<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ Λατίνοις ὄρκους καὶ ἀρὰς  
κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τὰ συγκείμενα ποιησάμε-  
νοι, διαλύσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον, πρότερον  
3 δὲ οὐ.<sup>2</sup> ταῦτ' οὖν<sup>3</sup> ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν  
αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους  
περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πάνυ ἐπιστρεφῶς ταῦτα δια-  
λέγεσθε· καλόν τοι τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστον ἔχοντα κτή-  
σεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ ζῆν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ μῆθένα  
δεδοικέναι μήτ' ἐχθρὸν μήτε καιρὸν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ  
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιεχομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πόλε-  
μον ὑπομένειν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ<sup>4</sup> περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπάντων  
κινδυνεύουσιν ἀγαθῶν· τά τε ἄθλα ἐπιδείκνυτε  
αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἴσα<sup>5</sup> κατορθοῦσί τε καὶ μὴ τυχούσι  
γινόμενα γῆς ἀλλοτρίας γλιχομένοις· εἰ δὲ βού-  
λεσθε, προστίθετε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἡδικημένων  
προσλαβεῖν βουλομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ κρατῶσι, καὶ τὴν  
ἑαυτῶν γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς  
τούτῳ γυναικας ἐπιδεῖν τὰ<sup>6</sup> αἰσχιστα πασχούσας  
καὶ παῖδας εἰς ὕβριν ἀγομένους καὶ γονεῖς δούλους  
4 ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ἐπὶ γήρως ὁδῶ<sup>7</sup> γινομένους. καὶ  
ἅμα διδάσκετε τὴν βουλὴν ὅτι τούτων τῶν κακῶν  
οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αἰτιάσασθαι Μάρκιον, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια  
ποιεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ δεινῶ περιπεσεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἀναιρήσονται μέχρι παντὸς φιλο-  
χωροῦντες τοῖς<sup>8</sup> ἀλλοτρίοις.

5 “Ἐχετε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· τούτων οὐθὲν ἂν εὖ-

<sup>1</sup> μεταδῶσιν A : μεταδιδῶσιν R.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ Kiessling : om. O, but in B one or two letters erased after δὲ.

<sup>3</sup> ταῦτ' οὖν Jacoby, ταῦτα δὲ Kiessling : ταῦτα O, but in B three (?) letters erased after ταῦτα.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ B : δὴ καὶ R.

as they have done in the case of the Latins, confirming their covenant by oaths and by imprecations against those who may violate it, I will put an end to the war against them, and not until then. So carry this report back to them, and discuss very earnestly with them also, in the same way as you have with me, these considerations of justice—how fine a thing it is for everyone to enjoy his own possessions and to live in peace, how important to have no enemy and no crisis to fear, but how disgraceful it is for a people, by clinging to the possessions of others, to expose themselves to an unnecessary war, in which they will run the hazard of losing even all their own blessings. Point out to them also how unequal are the prizes that reward success and failure when men covet the territory of others. Add too, if you please, that people who desire to seize the cities of those they have wronged, if they do not overcome them, are deprived of both their own territory and city, and in addition to this see their wives suffer the greatest indignities, their children led away to contumely, and their parents upon the threshold of old age become slaves instead of free men. And at the same time point out to the senators that they would not be able to impute the blame for these evils to Marcius, but to their own folly; for though they have it in their power to practise justice and to incur no disaster, they will hazard their all by their continual fondness for the possessions of others.

“ You have my answer, and you will get nothing

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<sup>5</sup> ἴσα Hudson : εἰς ἂ O.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ added by Grasberger.

<sup>7</sup> Reiske : ὁδοῦ A, ὁδοῦ B.

<sup>8</sup> ἐν before τοῖς deleted by Jacoby.

ροισθε παρ' ἐμοῦ πλέον, ἀλλ' ἄπιτε καὶ σκοπεῖτε ὃ τι πρακτέον ὑμῖν· ἕως δὲ βουλευθήσθε,<sup>1</sup> δίδωμι χρόνον ὑμῖν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ σὴν τε χάριν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἕνεκα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάξω· μεγάλα γὰρ ἂν βλάπτοισθε μενούσης αὐτῆς ἐνθάδε. τῇ δὲ τριακοστῇ προσδέχεσθέ με ἡμέρα τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ληψόμενον·”

XXXVI. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη καὶ διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις, εἴτε κατ' ἀλήθειαν πεπυσμένος ὅτι μέλλοι τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικουρίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀφίξεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> ὥς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφησεν, εἴτε αὐτὸς πλασάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἵνα<sup>3</sup> μὴ δόξειε χαριζόμενος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καταλελοιπέναι τὸν πόλεμον. <sup>2</sup> ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ Λογγόλᾳ<sup>4</sup> καὶ δίχα πόνου γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ τὰς ἐτέρας ἐξανδραποδισάμενός τε καὶ διαρπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν Σατρικανῶν ἤλαυνε πόλιν. ἐλὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων<sup>5</sup> ὠφελείας μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἐχέτραν, τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἄλλην τὴν καλουμένην Κετίαν.<sup>6</sup> γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς καὶ διαρπάσας εἰς τὴν Πολυσκανῶν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν. οὐ δυνηθέντων δ' ἀντισχεῖν τῶν Πολυσκανῶν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> βουλευθήσθε B : βουλεύσεσθε Λ, βουλεύσασθε CD.

<sup>2</sup> Naber : ἀφικέσθαι O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἵνα B : ἥ ἵνα R.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : λογγάδι O.

further from me. Depart, then, and consider what you must do. I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the meantime, to show my regard for you, Minucius, as well as for the rest of you envoys, I will withdraw my army from your territory, since it would cause you great injury if it remained here. And on the thirtieth day expect my return in order to receive your answer."

XXXVI. Having thus spoken, Marcius rose up and dismissed the conference ; and the following night he broke camp about the last watch and led his army against the rest of the Latin cities, either having actually learned that some reinforcements were to come from them to the Romans, as he declared at the time in his harangue to the troops, or having invented the report himself, in order that he might not seem to have given up the war to gratify the enemy. And attacking the place called Longula, he gained possession of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the same manner as he had treated the others, by making slaves of the inhabitants and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of Satricum, and having taken this also, after a short resistance by the townspeople, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty taken in these two towns to Ecetra, he marched with the rest of his forces to another town, called Cetia.<sup>1</sup> After gaining possession of this place also and pillaging it, he made an irruption into the territory of the Poluscini ; and when these were unable to withstand him, he took their city also by

<sup>1</sup> A name otherwise unknown.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων Jacoby : αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων O, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων Portus.

<sup>6</sup> κετίαν O : Κοτίαν Lapus, Σητίαν Gelenius.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξῆς ἐχώρει. Ἀλβίητας<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν καὶ Μογιλλανούς<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἰρεῖ, Χωριε-  
<sup>3</sup> λανούς<sup>3</sup> δὲ καθ' ὁμολογίας παραλαμβάνει. γενόμενος  
 δ' ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα πόλεων ἑπτὰ κύριος ἦκεν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγων πολὺ πλείω στρατιὰν τῆς  
 προτέρας καὶ σταδίου ἀποσχῶν τῆς πόλεως ὀλίγω  
 πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Τυσκλανούς  
 φέρουσιν ὁδὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰς Λατίνων ἐξήρει τε καὶ προσήγετο  
 πόλεις, Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὰς ἐπιταγὰς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ  
 βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τῆς  
 πόλεως, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀπέλθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 χώρας Οὐλολοῦσκοι καὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ  
 ὑπηκόων<sup>4</sup> καὶ<sup>5</sup> καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον πρέσβεις  
 ἀποστείλωσι τοὺς διαλεξομένους περὶ φιλίας, προ-  
 βουλευσαι τὸ συνέδριον ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις  
 φίλοι, καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγ-  
 κεῖν· ἕως δ' ἂν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μένοντες αὐτῶν καὶ  
<sup>4</sup> τῶν συμμάχων ἔργα πράττωσι πολεμίων, μη-  
 θὲν αὐτοῖς ψηφίζεσθαι φιλάνθρωπον. πολὺς  
 γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις αἰεὶ λόγος τοῦ μηθὲν δρᾶσαί ποτε  
 ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος μηδὲ φόβῳ πολεμίων εἴξαντας,  
 σπεισαμένοις δὲ τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ παρασχοῦσιν  
 ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους χαρίζεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν

<sup>1</sup> ἀλβίητας AB : Λαβινιάτας Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling : μογιλαινοὺς BC, μοσεγιλαίνους A.

<sup>3</sup> χωριελανοὺς O : Κοριολανοὺς Steph.

<sup>4</sup> γῆς after ὑπηκόων deleted by Reudler.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ added by Portus.

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<sup>1</sup> At least two of these names are corrupt. For the strange form ΛΑΒΙΗΤΑΣ (Albietes or Albietae) Sylburg proposed to read ΛΑΒΙΝΙΑΤΑΣ (Lavinenses), an emendation that is

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storm, and then proceeded against the others in order : the Albietes and the Mugillani he took by assault and the Chorielani by capitulation.<sup>1</sup> Having thus made himself master of seven cities in thirty days, he returned toward Rome with an army much larger than his former force, and encamped at a distance of a little more than thirty stades from the city, on the road that leads to Tusculum.

While Marcius was capturing or conciliating the cities of the Latins, the Romans, after long deliberation over his demands, resolved to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, but if the Volscians would depart from their territory and from that of their allies and subjects and, putting an end to the war, send ambassadors to treat for friendship, the senate would pass a preliminary vote fixing the terms on which they should become friends and would lay its resolution before the people ; but as long as the Volscians remained in their territory and in that of their allies committing hostile acts they would pass no friendly vote. For the Romans always made it a great point never to do anything at the dictation of an enemy or to yield to fear of him, but when once their adversaries had made peace and acknowledged themselves their subjects, to gratify them and con-

very attractive both palaeographically and also because Lavinium has already been mentioned as undergoing siege (chap. 21) and Livy names it among the cities taken by Coriolanus. The form Chorielani at once suggests Coriolani ; but that name seems to have been used already in chap. 19. Mugilla is not otherwise known to us, though the Roman cognomen Mugillanus may well be derived from a place name. Gronovius on the basis of our passage substituted *Mugillam* for the adjective *novella(m)* in Livy's list of captured cities (ii. 39, 3), but some recent editors have not followed him in this.



ὅτου δέοιντο τῶν μετρίων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα ἐν<sup>1</sup> πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις φυλάττουσα ἡ πόλις κατὰ τε τοὺς ὀθνεῖους καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίου πολέμους μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διατετέλεκε.

XXXVII. Ταῦτα ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἑτέρους ἐλομένης δέκα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας τὸν ἄνδρα μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν ἐπίταγμα βαρὺ μηδ' ἀνάξιον τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ ἀναστήσαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πειθοῖ καὶ διὰ λόγων συμβατηρίων ταῦτα πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν, εἰ βούλεται βεβαίους τε καὶ εἰς αἰὶ διαμενούσας ποιήσασθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τῶν πόλεων, ὡς τῶν γε ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἢ καιροῦ συγχωρουμένων καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἅμα τῷ μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς ἢ τὰς ἀνάγκας εὐθὺς διαλυομένων· οἱ μὲν ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς πρέσβεις ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Μαρκίου πορευθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ διελέγοντο φυλάττοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> ἀπεκρίνατο, συνεβούλευε δὲ κρεῖττόν τι βουλευσαμένους ἦκειν τριῶν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν· ταύτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι μόνας ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου. βουλομένων δέ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀπειλήσας, εἰ<sup>3</sup> μὴ ποιήσουσιν, ὡς κατασκόποις χρήσεσθαι<sup>4</sup>. κακεῖνοι σιωπῇ ἀπιόντες<sup>3</sup> εὐθὺς ὥχοντο. μαθόντες δ' οἱ βουλευταὶ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων τὰς αὐθάδεις ἀποκρίσεις τε καὶ ἀπειλὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἐν B : ἐν τοῖς R.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> εἰ Cary : ὡς εἰ O, Jacoby, οὕτως εἰ Hertlein.

<sup>4</sup> Hertlein : χρήσεται O, Jacoby.



cede anything in reason that they asked. And this proud spirit the commonwealth has continued to preserve down to our own time amid many great dangers in both their foreign and their domestic wars.

XXXVII. The senate,<sup>1</sup> having passed this decree, chose ten other men from among the ex-consuls as envoys to ask Marcius not to make any demand that was severe or unworthy of the commonwealth, but laying aside his resentment and withdrawing his forces from their territory, to endeavour to obtain his demands by persuasion and conciliatory language, if he wished to make the compact between the two states firm and enduring, since all concessions made either to individuals or to states under compulsion of some necessity or crisis become void at once when the crisis or the necessity changes. The envoys appointed by the senate, as soon as they were informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him and used many tempting arguments, preserving also in their discussions, however, the dignity of the commonwealth. But Marcius gave them no answer except to advise them to reach some better decision and then return within three days ; for they should have a truce from war for that period only. And when the envoys desired to make some answer to this, he would not permit it, but ordered them to quit the camp immediately, threatening, if they refused, to treat them as spies. Thereupon they at once withdrew in silence. The senators, upon being informed by the envoys of the haughty answer and

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 37 f. *cf.* Livy ii. 39, 12.

τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιὰν μὲν ὑπερόριον ἐξάγειν οὐδὲ τότε ἐψηφίσαντο, εἴτε τὸ ἀπειροπόλεμον τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν (νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν αὐτῶν) εὐλαβηθέντες, εἴτε τὴν ἀτολμίαν τῶν ὑπάτων (ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ δραστήριον ἦν) σφαλερὰν ἡγησάμενοι τηλικούτον ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἀγῶνα, εἴτε ἄρα καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐναντιομένου πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον δι' οἰωνῶν<sup>1</sup> ἢ χρησμῶν Σιβυλλείων ἢ τινος ὀττείας πατρίου, ὧν οὐκ ἡξίουں οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ὑπερορᾶν· φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελεστέρα φυλακῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι διέγνωσαν.

XXXVIII. Ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τῆς τε ἐλπίδος οὐπω ἀφιστάμενοι ὥς δυνατόν ὑπάρχον ἔτι μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ μείζονι καὶ τιμιωτέρα πρεσβεία δεηθεῖεν αὐτοῦ, ψηφίζονται τοὺς τε ἱεροφάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὅσοι τιμὴν τινα ἱερὰν ἢ λειτουργίαν περὶ τὰ θεῖα δημοτελῇ λαβόντες εἶχον (εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερεῖς καὶ θεραπευταὶ θεῶν πάννυ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι διαφανέστατοι τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τε οἴκους πατέρων καὶ ἀρετῆς οἰκείας ἀξίωσιν) ἔχοντας ἅμ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀργιαζομένων τε καὶ θεραπευομένων θεῶν τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἀμπεχομένους ἐσθῆτας ἀθρόους ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων πορεύεσθαι<sup>2</sup> τοὺς αὐτοὺς φέροντας τοῖς προτέροις λόγους. ὥς δ' ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἔλεξαν ὅσα ἢ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν, οὐδὲ τούτοις ἔδωκεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπόκρισιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡξίουں, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα

<sup>1</sup> δι' οἰωνῶν Reiske : οἰωνῶν B, οἶον A.

threats of Marcius, did not even then vote to send out an expeditionary force, either because they feared the inexperience of their troops, most of whom were new recruits, or because they regarded the timidity of the consuls—there was indeed no boldness for action in them at all—as a serious risk in undertaking so great a struggle, or perhaps too because Heaven opposed their expedition by means of auspices, Sibylline oracles, or some traditional religious scruple—warnings which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect as do those of to-day. However, they resolved to guard the city with greater diligence and to repel from their ramparts any who should attack them.

XXXVIII. While they were so engaged and were making their preparations, and were not yet ready to give up all hope, believing that Marcius could still be persuaded to relent if they sent a larger and more dignified embassy to intercede with him, they voted to send the pontiffs, the augurs, and all the others who were invested with any sacred dignity or public ministry relating to divine worship (there are among them large numbers of priests and ministers of religion, these also being distinguished beyond their fellows not only for their ancestry, but for their reputation for personal merit as well), and that these, carrying with them the symbols of the gods whose rites and worship they performed, and wearing their priestly robes, should go in a body to the enemy's camp bearing the same message as the former envoys. When they arrived and delivered the message with which the senate had charged them, Marcius returned no other answer even to them concerning their demands, but advised them either to depart and do

ποιεῖν συνεβούλευεν ἀπιόντας, εἰ θέλουσιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἢ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἥξοντα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέειπε μὴ διαλέγεσθαι  
 3 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀπέτυχον τῆς πείρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαλλαγῆς ἀπογνόντες ὥς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς μὲν ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις τάξαντες, τοὺς δ' ἀφειμένους ἤδη στρατείας, οἷς ἔτι τὰ σώματα ἱκανὰ ἦν κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν.

XXXIX. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὥς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ, καταλιποῦσαι τῆς οἴκοι μονῆς τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ὀλοφυρόμεναί τε καὶ προκυλιόμεναι τῶν ξοάνων· καὶ ἦν ἅπας μὲν ἱερὸς τόπος οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ ἱκετείας γυναικῶν ἀνάπλεως, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τοῦ Καπιτω-  
 2 λίου Διὸς ἱερόν. ἔνθα δὴ τις αὐτῶν γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχουσα καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τότ' οὔσα καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανωτάτῃ, Οὐαλερία μὲν ὄνομα, Ποπλικόλα δὲ τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν ἀδελφή, θείῳ τινὶ παραστήματι κινήθεισα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ κρηπίδος ἔστη τοῦ νεῶ καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας πρῶτον μὲν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἀξιούσα μὴ καταπεπλήχθαι τὸ δεινόν· ἔπειτα ὑπέσχετο μίαν εἶναι σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τῇ πόλει, ταύτην δ' ἐν αὐταῖς εἶναι μόναίς καταλειπο-  
 3 μένην, εἰ ἂν ἐθελήσωσι πράττειν ἃ δεῖ. καὶ τις εἶπεν ἐξ αὐτῶν· “Καὶ τί πράττουσαι ἂν ἡμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες διασῶσαι δυνηθῆῃμεν τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρηκότων; τίς ἢ τοσαύτη περὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς

• <sup>1</sup> Sintenis : ὑπὸ O, Jacoby.

as he commanded, if they wished to have peace, or to expect the war to come to their very gates ; and he forbade them to attempt any negotiations with him for the future. When the Romans failed in this attempt also, they gave up all hope of reconciliation and prepared for a siege, disposing the ablest of their men beside the moat and at the gates, and stationing upon the walls those who had been discharged from military service but whose bodies were still capable of enduring hardships.

XXXIX. In the meantime their wives,<sup>1</sup> seeing the danger now at hand and abandoning the sense of propriety that kept them in the seclusion of their homes, ran to the shrines of the gods with lamentations and threw themselves at the feet of their statues. And every holy place, particularly the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was filled with the cries and supplications of women. Then it was that one of them, a matron distinguished in birth and rank, who was then in the vigour of life and quite capable of discreet judgement, Valeria by name and sister to Publicola, one of the men who had freed the commonwealth from the kings, moved by some divine inspiration, took her stand upon the topmost step of the temple, and calling the rest of the women to her, first comforted and encouraged them, bidding them not to be alarmed at the danger that threatened. Then she assured them that there was just one hope of safety for the commonwealth and that this hope rested in them alone, if they would do what required to be done. Upon this one of them asked : “ And what can we women do to save our country, when the men have given it up for lost ? What strength so

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 39-54 *cf.* Livy ii. 40, 1-10.

ἀσθενεῖς καὶ τάλαιπώρους ἐστὶν ἰσχύς; ” “ Οὐχὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ὄπλων, ” ἔφησεν ἡ Οὐαλερία, “ καὶ χειρῶν δεομένη,<sup>2</sup>  
 τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἀπολέλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ’  
 εὐνοίας καὶ λόγου. ” βοῆς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένης  
 καὶ δεομένων ἀπασῶν φανερόν<sup>3</sup> ποιεῖν ἦτις ἐστὶν  
 4 ἡ ἐπικουρία, λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς. “ Ταύτην ἔχουσαι  
 τὴν πιναράν τε καὶ ἄκοσμον ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
 παραλαβοῦσαι γυναικας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπαγόμεναι  
 βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐετουρίας τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς  
 οἰκίαν· καὶ πρὸ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς τὰ τέκνα  
 θεῖσαι, δεώμεθα μετὰ δακρύων ἡμᾶς τε οἰκτεῖραςαν  
 τὰς μηθενὸς κακοῦ αἰτίας καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐσχάτοις  
 κινδύνοις οὔσαν πατρίδα προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα  
 τῶν πολεμίων, ἄγουσαν τοὺς τε νύωνους καὶ τὴν  
 μητέρα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπάσας· ἀκολουθῶμεν  
 γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ παιδιά ἐπαγόμεναι· ἔπειτα ἰκέτιν  
 γενομένην τοῦ τέκνου, ἀξιούν καὶ -δεῖσθαι μηδὲν  
 5 ἀνῆκεστον κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὀλο-  
 φυρομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντιβολούσης οἰκτός τις  
 εἰσελεύσεται τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λογισμὸς ἡμερος. οὐχ  
 οὔτω στερρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον ἔχει καρδίαν ὥστε  
 ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γόνασι  
 κυλιομένην. ”

XL. Ὡς δ’ ἐπήνεσαν αἱ παροῦσαι τὸν λόγον,  
 εὐξαμένη τοῖς θεοῖς πειθῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν περι-  
 θεῖναι τῇ δεήσει προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, αἱ δ’  
 ἡκολούθουν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παραλαβοῦσαι τὰς  
 ἄλλας γυναικας ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς  
 Μαρκίου μητρὸς ἀθροαί. ἰδοῦσα δ’ αὐτὰς προσ-  
 ιούσας ἡ τοῦ Μαρκίου γυνὴ Οὐολουμνία πλησίον  
 καθημένη τῆς ἐκυρᾶς ἐθαύμασέ τε καὶ εἶπε· “ Τίνος

<sup>1</sup> οὐχὶ A : οὐχ R.



great do we weak and miserable women possess ? ”  
 “ A strength,” replied Valeria, “ that calls, not for weapons or hands—for Nature has excused us from the use of these—but for goodwill and speech.” And when all cried out and begged of her to explain what this assistance was, Valeria said : “ Wearing this squalid and shabby garb and taking with us the rest of the women and our children, let us go to the house of Veturia, the mother of Marcius ; and placing the children at her knees, let us entreat her with tears to have compassion both upon us, who have given her no cause for grief, and upon our country, now in the direst peril, and beg of her to go to the enemy’s camp, taking along her grandchildren and their mother and all of us—for we must attend her with our children—and becoming the suppliant of her son, to ask and implore him not to inflict any irreparable mischief on his country. For while she is lamenting and entreating, a feeling of compassion and a tender reasonableness will come over the man. His heart is not so hard and invulnerable that he can hold out against a mother who grovels at his knees.”

XL. This advice having been approved of by all the women who were present, she prayed to the gods to invest their plea with persuasion and charm, and then set out from the sanctuary, followed by the others. Afterwards, taking with them the rest of the women, they went in a body to the house of Marcius’ mother. His wife Volumnia saw them approaching as she sat near her mother-in-law, and being surprised at their coming, asked : “ What is it you want,

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<sup>2</sup> Sintenis : *δεόμεναι* O, *δεόμεθα* Grasberger.

<sup>3</sup> Grasberger : *φανεράν* O.



δεόμεναι, γυναῖκες, ἐληλύθατε κατὰ πλήθος εἰς οἰκίαν δύστηνον καὶ ταπεινήν;” καὶ ἡ Οὐαλερία  
 2 ἔλεξεν· “Ἐν ἐσχάτοις οὔσαι κινδύνοις καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ νήπια ταῦτα καταπεφεύγαμεν ἰκέτιδες ἐπὶ σέ, ὦ Οὐετουρία, τὴν μόνην καὶ μίαν βοήθειαν, ἀξιούσαι σε πρῶτον μὲν οἰκτεῖραι τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα, ἣν οὐθενὶ πώποτε γενομένην ὑποχείριον μὴ περιίδης ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Οὐολούσκων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἰ δὴ καὶ φείσσονται αὐτῆς κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ’ οὐ πρόρριζον ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἀνελεῖν· ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιβολουῖσαι καὶ τῶν δυστήνων παιδίων τούτων, ἵνα μὴ πέσωμεν εἰς ἐχθρῶν ὕβριν οὐθενὸς οὔσαι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὑμῖν κα-  
 3 κῶν αἰτίαι. εἴ τίς ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ ψυχῆς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλανθρώπου καταλειπομένη μερίς, ἐλέησον, ὦ Οὐετουρία, γυνὴ γυναῖκας κοινωνησάσας ἱερῶν ποτε καὶ ὁσίων, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ σεαυτῆς Οὐολουμνίαν τε τὴν ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς ἰκέτιδας ἡμᾶς φερούσας τὰ νήπια ταυτί, καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας,<sup>1</sup> ἴθι πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πείθε καὶ λιπάρει καὶ μὴ ἀνῆς δεομένη, μίαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν χάριν αἰτοῦσα παρ’ αὐτοῦ σπείσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας καὶ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δεομένην ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν πατρίδα· πείσεις γάρ, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ οὐ περιόψεται σε ἐρριμμένην  
 4 παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶν ἀνὴρ εὐσεβῆς. κατ-  
 αγαγοῦσα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴ τε ἀθάνατον ἔξεις κλέος ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τηλικούτου κινδύνου καὶ φόβου ῥυσαμένη τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ἡμῖν τιμῆς τινος αἰτία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔσῃ,

<sup>1</sup> τὰ νήπια ταυτί καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας Jacoby, τὰ νήπια καὶ ταῦτα ἰκέτας γενναίους Post : τὰ νήπια καὶ ταυτί τὰς γενναίας O.

women, that so many of you have come to a household that is distressed and in humiliation?" Then Valeria replied: "Because we are in the direst peril, both we ourselves and these children have turned as suppliants to you, Veturia, our one and only succour, entreating you, first, to take compassion on our common country and not to permit this land, which has never fallen under any man's hand, to be robbed of its freedom by the Volscians—even supposing that they will spare it after subduing it and not endeavour to destroy it utterly; and next, imploring you in our own behalf and in behalf of these unfortunate children that we may not be exposed to the insolence of the enemy, since we are the cause of none of the evils that have befallen your family. If there remains in you any portion of a gentle and humane spirit, do you, Veturia, as a woman, have mercy on women who once shared with you the same sacrifices and rites, and taking with you Volumnia, the good wife of Marcius, and her children, and us suppliant women—ourselves too of noble birth—carrying in our arms these infants, go to your son and try to persuade him, implore him, and cease not to entreat him, asking of him this one favour in return for many—to make peace with his fellow citizens and return to his country that longs to get him back. For you will persuade him, be assured; a man of his piety will not permit you to lie prostrate at his feet. And when you have brought your son back to Rome, not only will you yourself most likely gain immortal glory for having rescued your country from so great a danger and terror, but you will be the cause to us also of some honour in the eyes of our

ὅτι τὸν οὐ δυνηθέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνων διασκεδασθῆναι πόλεμον αὐταὶ διελύσαμεν· ἐκείνων τε ἀληθῶς<sup>1</sup> ἔγγονοι<sup>2</sup> τῶν γυναικῶν φανησόμεθα αἱ τὸν συστάντα Ῥωμύλῳ πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμον αὐταὶ πρεσβευσάμεναι διελύσαντο καὶ συναγαγοῦσαι τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὰ ἔθνη μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς 5 ἐποίησαν τὴν πόλιν. καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, ᾧ Οὐετουρία, τὸν υἱὸν κομίσασθαι, ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα, σῶσαι τὰς ἑαυτῆς πολίτιδας, κλέος ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τοῖς<sup>3</sup> ἐσομένοις καταλιπεῖν. δὸς ἡμῖν ἐκοῦσα καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν χάριν καὶ σπεῦσον, ᾧ Οὐετουρία· βουλήν γάρ ἢ χρόνον ὁ κίνδυνος ὅξυς ὧν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται."

XLI. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα καὶ πολλὰ προεμένη δάκρυα ἐσίγησεν· ὀδυρομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν καὶ πολλὰς δεήσεις ποιουμένων μικρὸν ἐπισχοῦσα ἢ Οὐετουρία καὶ δακρύσασα εἶπεν·

"Εἰς ἀσθενῇ καὶ λεπτῇ ἐλπίδα καταπεφεύγατε, ᾧ Οὐαλερία, τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀθλίων γυναικῶν βοήθειαν, αἷς ἢ μὲν εὖνοια ἢ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα πάρεστι καὶ τὸ θέλειν σώζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, οἳ ποτέ εἰσιν, ἢ δ' ἰσχύς καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν ἃ 2 θέλομεν ἄπεστιν. ἀπέστραπτai γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ᾧ Οὐαλερία, Μάρκιος, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ κατέγνω δίκην, καὶ μεμίσηκε τὴν οἰκίαν ὅλην ἅμα τῇ πατρίδι· τοῦτο δ' ὑμῖν οὐ παρ' ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ Μαρκίου μαθοῦσαι λέγειν<sup>4</sup> ἔχομεν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀλούς τὴν δίκην<sup>5</sup> ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων, καταλαβὼν ἡμᾶς καθημένους<sup>6</sup> ἐν πενθίμοις τρύ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀληθῶς B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> ἔγγονοι Ba : ἔκγονοι ABC.

husbands for having ourselves put an end to a war which they had been unable to stop ; and we shall show ourselves to be the true descendants of those women who by their own intercession put an end to the war that had arisen between Romulus and the Sabines and by bringing together both the commanders and the nations made this city great from a small beginning. It is a glorious venture, Veturia, to recover your son, to free your native land, to save your countrywomen, and to leave to posterity an imperishable reputation for virtue. Grant us this favour willingly and cheerfully, and make haste, Veturia ; for the danger is acute and admits of no deliberation or delay."

XLI. Having said this and shed many tears, she became silent. And when the other women also lamented and added many entreaties, Veturia, after pausing a short time and weeping, said :

"It is a weak and slender hope, Valeria, to which you have turned for refuge—the assistance of us wretched women who feel indeed affection for our country and a desire for the preservation of the citizens, no matter what their character, but lack the strength and power to do what we wish. For Marcius has turned away from us, Valeria, ever since the people passed that bitter sentence against him, and has hated his whole family together with his country. This we can tell you as a thing we learned from the lips of none other than Marcius himself. For when, after his condemnation, he came home, escorted by his friends, and found us sitting there in garments of mourning,

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς B : ἐγγόνοις τοῖς R.

<sup>4</sup> μαθοῦσαι λέγειν B : om. R.

<sup>5</sup> τὴν δίκην Ba (?) : τῇ δίκῃ ABb. <sup>6</sup> καθημένας B : om. R.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

χεσι, ταπεινάς, κρατοῦσας ἐν τοῖς γόνασι τὰ τέκνα  
 αὐτοῦ στενούσας τε οἷα εἰκὸς καὶ ἀνακλαιομένας<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν καθέξουσαν ἡμᾶς τύχην στερομένας ἐκείνου,  
 στὰς μικρὸν ἄπωθεν ἡμῶν ἄδακρυς ὥσπερ λίθος καὶ  
 3 ἀτενής· ‘Οἷχεται,’ φησίν, ‘ὕμιν Μάρκιος, ὦ μήτερ  
 ἅμα καὶ σύ, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, κρατίστη γυναικῶν,  
 ἐξελαθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι γενναῖος ἦν καὶ  
 φιλόπολις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος  
 ἀγῶνας. ἀλλ’ ὥς πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἀγαθαῖς, οὕτω  
 φέρετε τὰς συμφορὰς μηδὲν ἄσχημον ποιοῦσαι μηδὲ  
 ἀγεννές, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα παραμύθια τῆς ἐμῆς  
 ἐρημίας ἔχουσαι τρέφετε ἀξίως ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ τοῦ  
 γένους· οἷς θεοὶ δοῖεν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσι τύχην μὲν  
 κρείσσονα τοῦ πατρός, ἀρετὴν δὲ μὴ χείρονα· καὶ  
 χαίρετε. ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ ἤδη καταλιπὼν τὴν οὐκ-  
 ἔτι χωροῦσαν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πόλιν. καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
 ὦ θεοὶ κτήσιοι καὶ ἐστία πατρώα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ  
 4 κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε.’ ὥς δὲ  
 ταῦτ’ εἶπεν, ἡμεῖς μὲν αἱ δυστυχεῖς ἅς τὸ πάθος  
 ἀπῆται φωνὰς ἀναβοῶσαι καὶ παῖοῦσαι τὰ στήθη  
 περιεχύθημεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς κοιμι-  
 ούμεναι· τῶν δὲ παιδίων τούτων ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ  
 πρεσβύτερον ἦγον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τὸ νεώτερον εἶχεν  
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκάλης· ὁ δ’ ἀποστραφεὶς καὶ παρωσά-  
 μενος ἡμᾶς εἶπεν· ‘Οὔτε σὸς υἱὸς ἔτι, μήτερ, ἔσται  
 τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον Μάρκιος, ἀλλ’ ἀφήρηταί σε  
 τὸν γηροβοσκὸν ἢ πατρίς, οὔτε σὸς ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ταύ-  
 τῆς, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχοίης  
 ἕτερον ἄνδρα λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστερον ἐμοῦ, οὔθ’  
 ὑμῶν, ὦ τέκνα φίλτατα, πατήρ, ἀλλ’ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ  
 ἔρημοι παρὰ ταύταις, ἕως εἰς ἄνδρας ἔλθῃτε, τραφή-

<sup>1</sup> Portus : ἀνακαλουμένας Ο.

<sup>2</sup> Gelenius : ἡμῶν Ο.

abased, clasping his children upon our knees, uttering such lamentations as one would expect in the circumstances and bewailing the unhappy fate which would come upon us when bereft of him, he stood at a little distance from us, tearless as a stone and unmoved, and said : ‘ Marcius is lost to you, mother, and to you also, Volumnia, best of wives, having been exiled by his fellow citizens because he was a brave man and a lover of his country and undertook many struggles for her sake. But bear this calamity as befits good women, doing nothing unseemly or ignoble, and with these children as a consolation for my absence, rear them in a manner worthy both of yourselves and of their lineage ; and when they have come to manhood, may the gods grant them a fate better than their father’s and valour not inferior to his. Farewell. I am departing now and leaving this city in which there is no longer any room for good men. And ye too, my household gods and hearth of my fathers, and ye other divinities who preside over this place, farewell.’ When he had thus spoken, we unhappy women, uttering the cries which our plight called for, and beating our breasts, clung to him to receive his last embraces. I led the elder of these his sons by the hand, and the younger his mother carried in her arms. But he turned away, and thrusting us back, said : ‘ No longer shall Marcius be your son henceforth, mother, but our country has deprived you of the support of your old age ; nor shall he be your husband, Volumnia, from this day, but may you be happy with another husband more fortunate than I ; nor shall he be your father, dearest children, but, orphans and forsaken, you will be reared by these women till you come to manhood.’



5 σεσθε.' ταῦτ' εἰπών, ἄλλο δ'<sup>1</sup> οὐθὲν οὔτε διοικη-  
 σάμενος οὔτ' ἐπιστείλας οὔθ' ὅποι πορεύεται φράσας  
 ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἄδουλος,  
 ἄπορος, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐφήμερον ὁ δύστηνος ἐκ τῶν  
 ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τροφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τέταρ-  
 τον ἐνιαυτὸν ἤδη τοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ φεύγει τὴν πατρίδα,  
 πάντα ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίους ἑαυτοῦ νενόμικεν, οὐ  
 γράφων οὐθέν, οὐκ ἐπιστέλλων, οὐ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς  
 6 εἰδέναι βουλόμενος. πρὸς δὲ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν οὔτω  
 σκληρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον, ὦ Οὐαλερία, τίνα ἰσχὺν  
 ἔξουσιν αἱ παρ' ἡμῶν δεήσεις, αἷς οὔτε ἀσπασμῶν  
 μετέδωκεν οὔτε φιλημάτων οὔτε ἄλλης φιλοφροσύ-  
 νης οὐδεμιᾶς τὴν τελευταίαν πορευόμενος ἐκ τῆς  
 οἰκίας ὁδόν;

XLII. “ Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ τούτου δεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, ὦ  
 γυναῖκες, καὶ πάντως θέλετε ἀσχημονούσας ἡμᾶς  
 ἰδεῖν, ὑπολάβετε παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν καμὲ καὶ  
 Οὐολουμνίαν ἀγούσας τὰ παιδιά· τίνας ἐρῶ πρῶτον  
 ἢ μήτηρ ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγους, καὶ τίνα δέησιν  
 ποιήσομαι τοῦ υἱοῦ; λέγετε καὶ διδάσκετέ με.  
 φείσασθαι παρακαλῶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ὑφ' ὧν  
 ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξελέγηται καὶ<sup>2</sup> μὴθὲν ἀδικῶν;  
 οἰκτίρμονα δὲ καὶ συμπαθῆ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς  
 γενέσθαι, παρ' ὧν οὔτ' ἐλέου μετέσχευ οὔτε συμ-  
 παθείας; ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δ' ἄρα καὶ προδοῦναι τοὺς  
 ὑποδεξαμένους αὐτοῦ τὴν φυγὴν, οἱ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ  
 πεπονθότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον, οὐ πολεμίων μῖσος,  
 ἀλλὰ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν εὖνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀπ-  
 2 εδειξάντο; τίνα ψυχὴν λαβοῦσα ἀξιόσω τὸν υἱὸν  
 τὰ μὲν ἀπολέσαντα φιλεῖν, τὰ δὲ σώσαντα ἀδικεῖν;  
 οὐκ εἰσὶν οὔτοι μητρὸς ὑγαινουσύνης λόγοι πρὸς υἱὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλο δ' O : ἀλλ' Jacoby.



With these words and nothing else—without arranging any of his affairs, sending any messages, or saying whither he was going—he went out of the house alone, women, without a servant, without means, and without taking from his own stores, wretched man, even a day's supply of food. And for the fourth year now, ever since he was banished from the country, he has looked upon us all as strangers to him, neither writing anything nor sending any messages nor caring to have news of us. On such a mind, so hard and invulnerable, Valeria, what force will the entreaties of us women have, to whom he gave neither embraces nor kisses nor any other mark of affection when he left his house for the last time?

XLII. “ But if you desire it so, women, and firmly wish to see us act an unbecoming part, just imagine that I and Volumnia with these children have come into his presence. What words shall I, his mother, first address to him and what request shall I make of my son? Tell me and instruct me. Shall I exhort him to spare his fellow citizens, by whom he was exiled from his country though guilty of no crime? To be merciful and compassionate to the plebeians, from whom he received neither mercy nor compassion? Or perhaps to abandon and betray those who received him when an exile and, notwithstanding the many calamities he had previously inflicted on them, showed to him, not the hatred of enemies, but the affection of friends and relations? What courage can I pluck up to ask my son to love those who have ruined him and to injure those who have preserved him? These are not the words of a sane mother to her son nor of

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Ὁ : καὶ ταῦτα Reiske, om. Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> εἰς αὐτὸν B : om. R.

οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἃ δεῖ λογιζομένης πρὸς ἄνδρα· μηδ' ὑμεῖς βιάζεσθε, γυναῖκες, ἃ μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιά ἐστι μήτε πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄφετε τὰς ἐλεεινάς, ὡς πεπτώκαμεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, κεῖσθαι ταπεινὰς μηθὲν ἔτι πλέον ἀσχημονούσας."

XLIII. Πausaμένης δ' αὐτῆς τοσοῦτος ὄδυρμος ἐκ τῶν παρουσῶν<sup>1</sup> γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τηλικαύτη κατέσχε τὸν οἶκον οἰμωγή, ὥστ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος<sup>2</sup> ἐξακουσθῆναι τῆς πόλεως τὴν βοήν καὶ μεστοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς οἰκίας στενωποὺς ὄχλου.  
<sup>2</sup> ἔπειτα ἦ τε Οὐαλερία πάλιν ἐτέρας ἐξέτεινε μακρὰς καὶ συμπαθεῖς δεήσεις, αἷ τε ἄλλαι γυναῖκες αἱ κατὰ φιλίαν ἢ συγγένειαν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν προσήκουσαι<sup>3</sup> παρέμενον λιπαροῦσαί τε καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμεναι, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅ τι πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ὄδυρμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς δεήσεις, εἶξεν ἡ Οὐετουρία καὶ τελέσειν τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέσχετο<sup>4</sup> τὴν τε γυναῖκα τοῦ Μαρκίου παραλαβοῦσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολι-  
<sup>3</sup> τίδων τὰς βουλομένας. αἱ μὲν δὴ περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμεναι συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ προσήγγειλαν τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς ὑπάτοις· οἱ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινέσαντες συνεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ συγχωρητέον αὐταῖς, γνωμηδὸν ἐπυνθάνοντο.<sup>5</sup> πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθησαν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγοι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας διετέλεσαν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν βου-

<sup>1</sup> παρουσῶν B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> μέρος deleted by Jacoby.

a wife who reasons as she should to her husband ; nor ought you either, women, to compel us to ask of him things that are neither just in the sight of men nor right in the eyes of the gods, but permit us miserable women to lie abased as we have been cast down by Fortune, committing no further unseemly act."

XLIII. After she had done speaking there was so great lamentation on the part of the women present and such wailing pervaded the household that their cries were heard over a great part of the city and the streets near the house were crowded with people. Then Valeria again indulged in fresh entreaties that were long and affecting, and all the rest of the women who were connected by friendship or kindred with either of them remained there, beseeching her and embracing her knees, till Veturia, not seeing how she could help herself in view of their lamentations and their many entreaties, yielded and promised to perform the mission in behalf of her country, taking with her the wife of Marcius and his children and as many matrons as wished to join them. The women rejoiced exceedingly at this and invoked the gods to aid in the accomplishment of their hopes ; then, departing from the house, they informed the consuls of what had passed. These, having commended their zeal, assembled the senate and called upon the members to deliver their opinions one after the other whether they ought to permit the women to go out on this mission. Many speeches were made by many senators, and they continued debating till

<sup>3</sup> προσήκουσαι Post : προσήκουσαι καὶ O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τελέσειν . . . ὑπέσχετο B : καὶ τέλος ἀπῆει τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ποιησομένη ἦν ὑπέσχετο R.

<sup>5</sup> γνωμηδὸν ἐπυνθάνοντο O : γνώμας διεπυνθάνοντο Cobet.

- 4 λευόμενοι.<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει κινδύνευμα γυναικας ἅμα τέκνοις εἰς πολεμίων στρατόπεδον πορευομένας ἔασαι· εἰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν νενομισμένων ὁσίων περί τε πρεσβείας καὶ ἱκεσίας δόξειε μηκέτι προῖεσθαι τὰς γυναικας, ἀμαχητὶ σφῶν ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ἡξίουں τε αὐτὰς μόνον ἔασαι τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Μαρκίῳ γυναικας ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πορευομένας. ἕτεροι δ' οὐδὲ ταύταις ὥντο δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ ταύτας παρῆνουν φυλάττειν, ὅμηρα νομίσαντας ἔχειν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχέγγυα τοῦ μηδὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀνήκεστον
- 5 ὑπ' αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πάσαις συνεβούλευον συγχωρῆσαι ταῖς βουλομέναις γυναιξὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, ἵνα σὺν μείζονι ἀξιώματι αἱ τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσήκουσαι ποιήσωνται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος δέησιν. τοῦ δὲ μηθὲν αὐταῖς συμβήσεσθαι δεινὸν ἐγγυητὰς ἀπέφαινον ἐσομένους θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον οἷς καθοσιωθείσαι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσονται· ἔπειτα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτὸν πρὸς ὃν ἔμελλον πορεύεσθαι, πάσης ἀδίκου τε καὶ ἀνοσίου πράξεως καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον
- 6 ἐσχηκότα τὸν βίον. ἐνίκα δ' ὅμως ἡ συγχωροῦσα γνώμη ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, μέγιστον ἀμφοῖν ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσα, τῆς μὲν βουλῆς τοῦ φρονίμου, ὅτι κράτιστα τὰ<sup>2</sup> γενησόμενα προείδετο οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τηλικούδε ὄντος ἐπιταραχθεῖσα, τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὅτι πολέμιος ὢν ἐπιστεύετο μηδὲν ἀσεβήσειν εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον τῆς
- 7 πόλεως μέρος κύριος αὐτοῦ καταστάς. ὥς δὲ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ὃ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν βουλευόμενοι ACb : ἀποροῦντες ὅτι χρῆ ποιεῖν R (?).

the evening what they ought to do. For some argued that it was no small risk to the commonwealth to permit the women with the children to go to the enemy's camp ; for if the Volscians, in contempt of the recognized rights of ambassadors and suppliants, should decide not to let them go afterwards, their city would be taken without a blow. These men, therefore, advised permitting only the women who were related to Marcius to go, accompanied by his children. Others believed that not even these should be allowed to go out, and advised that they too should be carefully guarded, considering that in them they had hostages from the enemy, to secure the city from suffering any irreparable injury at their hands. Still others advised giving leave to all the women to go who so desired, in order that the kinswomen of Marcius might intercede more impressively for their country ; and to insure that no harm should befall them, they said they would have as sureties, first, the gods, to whom the women would be consecrated before making their petition, and next, the man himself to whom they were going, who had kept his life pure and unstained by any act of injustice or impiety. However, the proposal to allow the women to go prevailed, implying a great compliment to both parties—to the senate for its wisdom, in that it perceived best what was going to happen, without being disquieted at all by the danger, though it was so great, and to Marcius for his piety, inasmuch as it was not believed that he would, even though an enemy, do anything impious toward the weakest element of the state when he should have them in his power. After

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<sup>2</sup> *κράτιστα τὰ Sintenis : κράτιστα καὶ B, τὰ κράτιστα καὶ A, Jacoby.*

προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, προελθόντες οἱ ὕπατοι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν σκότους ὄντος ἤδη τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεσάφησαν καὶ προεῖπαν ἡκεῖν ἅπαντας ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προπέμψοντας ἐξιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν κατεπειγόντων ἔλεγον ἐπιμελήσεσθαι.

XLIV. "Ὅτε δ' ἤδη περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἦν, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἄγουσαι τὰ παιδιά μετὰ λαμπάδων ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ παραλαβοῦσαι τὴν Οὐετουρίαν προῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ζεύγη τε ὀρικὰ καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τᾶλλα πορεῖα<sup>1</sup> ὥς πλεῖστα παρασκευασάμενοι καθεζομένας αὐτὰς προὔπεμπον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. παρηκολούθουν δ' αὐταῖς οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συχνοὶ σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπαῖνοις καὶ δεήσεσι<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπι-  
<sup>2</sup> φανεστέραν αὐταῖς ποιοῦντες. ὥς δ' εὐσύννοπτοι πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσιοῦσαι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγένοντο, πέμπει τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὁ Μάρκιος κελεύσας μαθεῖν τίς ἐστὶν ὁ προσιὼν ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τί παραγένοιντο. μαθὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἤκουσιν ἐπαγόμεναι παιδιά, προηγείται δ' αὐτῶν ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐθαύμασε τῆς τόλμης τὰς γυναῖκας, εἰ γνώμην ἔσχον εἰς χάρακα πολεμίων ἄτερ ἀνδρῶν φυλακῆς ἐλθεῖν ἄγουσαι τὰ τέκνα, οὔτε αἰδοῦς ἔτι τῆς ἀρμοττοῦσης γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις καὶ σώφροσι προνοούμεναι τὸ<sup>3</sup> μὴ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀσυνήθεσιν ὀρᾶσθαι, οὔτε κινδύνων λαβοῦσαι δέος οὐς ἀναρριπτεῖν ἔμελλον, εἰ τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν δικαίων ἐλομένοις σφίσι

<sup>1</sup> Cobet : φορεῖα O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : δεήσει O.



the decree had been drawn up, the consuls proceeded to the Forum, and summoning an assembly when it was already dark, announced the senate's decision and gave notice that all should come early the next morning to the gates to accompany the women when they went out; and they said that they themselves would attend to all urgent business.

XLIV. When it was now break of day, the women, leading the children, went with torches to the house of Veturia, and taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the meantime the consuls, having got ready spans of mules, carts, and a great many other conveyances, seated the women in them and accompanied them for a long distance. The women were attended by the senators and many other citizens, who by their vows, commendations and entreaties lent distinction to their mission. As soon as the women, while still approaching at a distance, could be clearly seen by those in the camp, Marcius sent some horsemen with orders to learn what multitude it was that advanced from the city and what was the occasion of their coming. And being informed that the wives of the Romans together with their children had come to him and that they were led by his mother, his wife and his sons, he was at first astonished at the assurance of the women in resolving to come with their children into an enemy's camp without a guard of men, neither showing regard any longer for the modesty becoming to free-born and virtuous women, which forbids them to be seen by men who are strangers, nor becoming alarmed at the dangers which they would run if his soldiers, preferring their

<sup>3</sup> τὸ Ο : τοῦ Sylburg. Naber would reject τὸ μὴ . . . ὀρᾶσθαι as a gloss.



δόξειε κέρδος αὐτὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὠφέλειαν.  
 3 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν, ὑπαντᾶν τῇ μητρὶ προελθὼν  
 ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔγνω σὺν ὀλίγοις, τοὺς τε πελέκεις,  
 οὓς προηγείσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔθος ἦν, ἀπο-  
 θέσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, καὶ τὰς ράβδους,  
 ὅταν ἐγγὺς τῆς μητρὸς γένηται, καταστεῖλαι.  
 4 ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἔθος ὅταν ὑπαντῶσι  
 ταῖς μείζουσιν ἀρχαῖς οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες,  
 ὡς καὶ<sup>1</sup> μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται· ἦν δὲ  
 τότε συνήθειαν φυλάττων ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς ἐξουσία  
 μείζονι μέλλων εἰς ταῦτ' ἤξειν, πάντα ἀπέθετο τὰ  
 τῆς ἰδίας παράσημα ἀρχῆς. τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν  
 ἦν αἰδὼς καὶ πρόνοια τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας.

XLV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο,  
 πρώτη μὲν αὐτῷ δεξιωσομένη προσῆλθεν ἡ μήτηρ  
 πένθιμά τε ἡμφιεσμένη τρύχη καὶ τὰς ὁράσεις  
 ἐκτετηκυῖα ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ἔλεεινὴ σφόδρα. ἦν  
 ὁ Μάρκιος ἰδὼν, ἄτεγκτος τέως καὶ στερρός, οἷος  
 ἅπασι τοῖς ἀνιαιοῖς ἀντέχειν, οὐθὲν ἔτι τῶν λελογισ-  
 μένων φυλάττειν ἱκανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥχετο φερόμενος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ περιβαλὼν  
 αὐτὴν ἡσπάζετο καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις φωναῖς ἀνεκάλει  
 καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κλαίων τε καὶ περιέπων κατεῖχεν  
 ἐκκελυμένην καὶ ρέουσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ τῶν  
 ἀσπασμῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἅλις εἶχε, τὴν γυναῖκα  
 προσελθοῦσαν<sup>2</sup> δεξιωσάμενος ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἰ-  
 2 πεν· “ Ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον ἐποίησας, ὦ Οὐο-  
 λουμνία, μείνασα παρὰ τῇ μητρί μου καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐγκαταλιποῦσα τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτῆς, ἐμοί τε<sup>3</sup> πασῶν  
 ἡδίστην κεχάρισαι δωρεάν.” μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν παι-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.<sup>2</sup> προσελθοῦσαν B : om. R.<sup>3</sup> ἐμοί τε Kiessling : ἐμοιγε O, Jacoby.

own interests to justice, should think fit to make a profit and advantage of them. But when they were near, he resolved to go out of the camp with a few of his men and to meet his mother, after first ordering his lictors to lay aside the axes which were customarily carried before generals, and when he should come near his mother, to lower the rods. This is a custom observed by the Romans when inferior magistrates meet those who are their superiors, which continues even to our time; and it was in observance of this custom that Marcius, as if he were going to meet a superior power, now laid aside all the insignia of his own office. So great was his reverence and his concern to show his veneration for the tie of kinship.

XLV. When they came near to one another, his mother was the first to advance toward him to greet him, clad in rent garments of mourning and with her eyes melting in tears, an object of great compassion. Upon seeing her, Marcius, who till then had been hard-hearted and stern enough to cope with any distressing situation, could no longer keep any of his resolutions, but was carried away by his emotions into human kindness, and embracing and kissing her, he called her by the most endearing terms, and supported her for a long time, weeping and caressing her as her strength failed and she sank to the ground. After he had had enough of caressing his mother, he greeted his wife when with their children she approached him, and said: "You have acted the part of a good wife, Volumnia, in living with my mother and not abandoning her in her solitude, and to me you have thereby done the dearest of all favours." After this, drawing each of his children to him, he

δίῳν ἐκάτερον προσαγόμενος καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀσπασμοὺς ἀποδοὺς, ἐπέστρεψεν αὐθις πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τίνος δεομένη πάρεστιν. ἡ δὲ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἔφησεν ἐρεῖν, οὐθενὸς γὰρ ἀνοσίου δεήσεσθαι, παρεκάλει τε αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος εἰώθει χωρίῳ δικάζειν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἐν 3 τούτῳ καθίσει. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐδέξατο ὡς δὴ περιουσία τε πολλῇ<sup>1</sup> τῶν δικαίων πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν αὐτῆς χρησόμενος καὶ ἐν καλῷ ποιησόμενος<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ὄχλοις τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν βῆμα πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν δίφρον καὶ θεῖναι χαμαί, μητρὸς ὑψηλότερον οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν τόπον ἔχειν οὐδ' ἐξουσία χρησθαι κατ' ἐκείνης οὐδεμιᾶ· ἔπειτα παρακαθισάμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ λοχαγῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑάσας παρεῖναι τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐκέλευσε τὴν μητέρα λέγειν.

XLVI. Καὶ ἡ Οὐετουρία παραστησαμένη τὴν τε γυναῖκα τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἔκλαιεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὀρώσα μέχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἐκίνησεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔλεον. ἔπειτα ἀνα- 2 λαβοῦσα αὐτὴν ἔλεξεν· “ Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὦ Μάρκιε τέκνον,<sup>3</sup> τὰς ὕβρεις ἐνθυμούμεναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συμφορὰς τὰς συμβησομένας αὐταῖς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένηται, πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀπογνοῦσαι βοήθειαν, ἐπεὶδὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσι διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐθάδεις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πολλῇ B : om. R.

gave them a father's caresses, and then, turning again to his mother, begged her to state what she had come to ask of him. She answered that she would speak out in the presence of all, since she had no impious request to make of him, and bade him be seated where he was wont to sit when administering justice to his troops. Marcius willingly agreed to her proposal, thinking, naturally, that he should have a great abundance of just arguments to use in combating his mother's intercession and that he should be giving his answer where it was convenient for the troops to hear. When he came to the general's tribunal, he first ordered the lictors to remove the seat that stood there and to place it on the ground, since he thought he ought not to occupy a higher position than his mother or use against her any official authority. Then, causing the most prominent of the commanders and captains to sit by him and permitting any others to be present who wished, he bade his mother speak.

XLVI. Thereupon Veturia, having placed the wife of Marcius with his children and the most prominent of the Roman matrons near her, first wept, fixing her eyes on the ground for a long time, and roused great compassion in all who were present. Then, recovering herself, she said : " These women, Marcius, my son, mindful of the outrages and other calamities which will come upon them if our city falls into the power of the enemy, and despairing of all other assistance, since you gave haughty and harsh answers to their husbands when they asked you to end the

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon : πολούμενος O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ὦ Μάρκιε τέκνον (or ὦ τέκνον) Kiessling : ὦ τέκνον Μάρκιε O.

σκληρὰς ἔδωκας ἀποκρίσεις, ἄγουσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοῖς πενθίμοις τούτοις ἡμφιεσμένοι τρύχεσι κατέφυγον ἐπ' ἐμέ, τὴν σὴν μητέρα, καὶ Οὐολούμνιαν, τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα, δεόμεναι μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὰς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθούσας, οὐθὲν μὲν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔξαμαρτοῦσαι, πολλὴν δὲ καί, ὅτ' εὐτυχοῦμεν, εὖνοϊαν ἔτι παρασχόμεναι, καί, ὅτ' ἐπταίσαμεν, 3 συμπάθειαν. ἔχομεν γὰρ αὐταῖς μαρτυρεῖν, ἐξ οὗ σὺ ἀπῆρας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἡμεῖς δ' ἔρημοι καὶ τὸ μῆθὲν ἔτι οὔσαι κατελειπόμεθα, συνεχῶς τε παραγινομέναις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ παραμυθουμέναις τὰς συμφορὰς<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν καὶ συναλγούσαις.<sup>2</sup> τούτων δὴ λαμβάνουσαι μνήμην ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ σὴ γυνὴ ἡ<sup>3</sup> συνοικουρούσα μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰς ἱκεσίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπεστράφημεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείναμεν, ὡς ἡξίουν ἡμᾶς, ἔλθειν ἐπὶ σέ καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ποιήσασθαι δεήσεις."

XLVII. "Ἐτι δ' αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν. "Ἀδυνάτων δεομένη, μήτερ, ἐλήλυθας ἀξιοῦσα προδοῦναί με τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσι τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, καὶ τοῖς ἅπαντά με ἀφελόμενοις τὰ ἑμαντοῦ τοὺς χαρισαμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν· οἷς ἐγὼ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε παραλαμβάνων θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας ἐγγνητὰς ἔδωκα μήτε προδώσειν τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν μήτε προκαταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἔαν μὴ Οὐολούσκοις 2 ἅπασι δοκῇ. θεοὺς τε δὴ σεβόμενος οὖς ὥμοσα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενος οἷς τὰς πίστεις ἔδωκα, πολεμήσω Ῥωμαίοις ἄχρι τέλους. ἔαν δ' ἀποδιδῶσι

<sup>1</sup> παραγινομέναις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ παραμυθουμέναις τὰς συμφορὰς Λ : παραγινομέναις ταῖς συμφοραῖς Β.

war, took their children, and clad in these rent garments of mourning, turned for refuge to me, your mother, and to Volumnia, your wife, begging us not to permit them to suffer the greatest of all human evils at your hands, as they have never done us any injury, great or slight, but showed much affection for us while we were still prosperous, and compassion when we met with adversity. For we can bear them witness that since you withdrew from your country and we were left desolate and no longer of any account, they constantly visited us, alleviated our misfortunes, and condoled with us. So, remembering all this, neither I nor your wife, who lives with me, rejected their entreaties, but brought ourselves to come to you, as they asked, and to make our supplications in behalf of our country."

XLVII. While she was yet speaking Marcius interrupted her and said : " You have come demanding the impossible, mother, when you ask me to betray to those who have cast me out those who have received me, and to those who have deprived me of all my possessions those who have conferred on me the greatest of human blessings—men to whom, when I accepted this command, I gave the gods and other divinities as sureties that I would neither betray their state nor end the war unless all the Volscians agreed to do so. Both out of reverence, then, for the gods by whom I swore and out of respect for the men to whom I gave my pledges I shall continue to make war upon the Romans to the last. But if they will

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<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἡμῶν συναλγούσαις C, καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμῶν συναλγούσαις Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> ἡ added by Reiske.



τὴν χώραν Οὐολούσκοις ἦν κατέχουσιν αὐτῶν βία, καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> ποιήσονται πάντων αὐτοῖς μεταδιδόντες τῶν ἴσων ὥσπερ Λατίνοις, διαλύσο-  
 3 μαι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ἄλλως δ' οὔ. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἄπιτε καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα καὶ πείθετε αὐτοὺς μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐὰν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν τις αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἐᾷ, μηδ', ὅτι πολέμῳ λαβόντες ἔχουσι τὰ Οὐολούσκων, περιμένειν ἕως πολέμῳ πάλιν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπο-  
 χρήσει τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μόνον ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων ἴδια ἀξιώσουσιν ἔχειν. ἐὰν δὲ περιεχόμενοι τῶν μηθὲν αὐτοῖς προσ-  
 ηκόντων πᾶν ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπομένωσι φυλάτ-  
 τοντες τὸ αὐθαδες, ἐκείνους αἰτιάσεσθε<sup>2</sup> τῶν κατα-  
 ληφτομένων κακῶν, οὐ Μάρκιον οὐδὲ Οὐολούσκους  
 4 οὐδ' ἄλλον<sup>3</sup> ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα. σοῦ δέ, ὦ μῆτερ, ἐν μέρει πάλιν υἱὸς ὢν ἐγὼ δέομαι μὴ με<sup>4</sup> παρα-  
 καλεῖν εἰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις καὶ ἀδίκους, μηδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐμοί τε καὶ σεαυτῇ τεταγμένην πολεμίους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους· ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ γενομένην, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, πατρίδα τε νέμειν ἦν ἐγὼ νέμω, καὶ οἶκον<sup>5</sup> ὃν ἐγὼ κέκτημαι, τιμὰς τε καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἐμῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγουμένην φίλους τε καὶ πολεμίους<sup>6</sup> οὔσπερ ἐγώ· ἀποθέσθαι τε ἤδη τὸ πένθος ὃ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ὑπέμεινας, ὦ ταλαίπωρε,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὺς B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> Cobet, Jacoby : αἰτιάσθε O.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' ἄλλον Ba : οὐδ' ἄλλων ABb, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Cobet, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> με added by Kiessling.



restore to the Volscians the lands of theirs which they hold by force, and will make them their friends, giving them an equal share in all privileges as they have to the Latins, I will put an end to the war against them, otherwise not. As for you women, then, depart and carry this word to your husbands ; and persuade them to cease their unjust fondness for the possessions of others and to be content if they are permitted to keep what is their own, and not, just because they now hold the possessions of the Volscians which they took in war, to wait till they are in turn deprived of them in war by the Volscians. For the conquerors will not be satisfied with merely recovering their own possessions, but will think themselves entitled also to those that belong to the conquered. And if, by clinging to what is not theirs at all, the Romans persist in their arrogance and are willing to suffer anything whatever, you will impute to them, rather than to Marcius, the Volscians or anyone else, the blame for the miseries that shall befall them. And of you, mother, I, who am your son, beg in my turn that you will not urge me to wicked and unjust actions, nor, ranging yourself on the side of those who are the bitterest foes both to me and to yourself, regard as enemies your nearest of kin, but that, taking your place at my side, as is right, you will make the land where I dwell your fatherland, and your home the house I have acquired, and that you will enjoy my honours and share in my glory, looking upon my friends and enemies as your own ; also that you will lay aside at last the mourning which, un-

<sup>5</sup> Reiske proposed to add *κεκτῆσθαι* after *οἶκον*. Capps would read *οἶκον οἰκεῖν*.

<sup>6</sup> *καὶ πολεμίους* B : *καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ πολεμίους* R.

φυγὰς, καὶ παύσασθαι τιμωρουμένην με τῷ σχή-  
 5 ματι τούτῳ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ μήτερ,  
 ἀγαθὰ κρείττονα ἐλπίδων καὶ μείζονα εὐχῆς παρὰ  
 θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήντηται, ἡ δὲ περὶ σοῦ  
 φροντίς, ἥ τὰς γηροβοσκούς οὐκ ἀπέδωκα χάριτας,  
 ἐντετηκυῖα τοῖς σπλάγχνοις πικρὸν πεποίηκε<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 ἀνόνητον ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον. εἰ δὲ  
 σὺν ἐμοὶ τάξεις σεαυτὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κοινωνεῖν  
 ἐθελήσεις ἀπάντων, οὐθενὸς ἔτι μοι δεήσει τῶν  
 ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν.”

XLVIII. Πausaμένον δ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ Οὐε-  
 τουρία ἐπισχοῦσα χρόνον, ἕως ὃ τῶν περιεστηκότων  
 ἔπαινος ἐπαύσατο πολὺς τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ  
 γενόμενος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν·

“ Ἄλλ' ἔγωγέ σε, ὦ Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὔτε προ-  
 δότην Οὐολούσκων γενέσθαι ἀξιῶ, οἳ σε φεύγοντα  
 ὑποδεξάμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐτίμησαν καὶ τὴν ἑαυ-  
 τῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσαν, οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ὁμο-  
 λογίας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς ὅτε τὰς  
 δυνάμεις παρελάμβανες, ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης ἰδία  
 καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν βούλομαι· μηδ' ὑπολάβης  
 τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα τοσαύτης ἀναπεπλήσθαι θεο-  
 βλαβείας, ὥστε τὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον υἱὸν εἰς  
 2 αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀνοσίους πράξεις παρακαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ  
 μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης ἀποστήναί σε ἀξιῶ τοῦ πολέ-  
 μου, πείσαντα τοὺς Οὐολούσκους μετριάσαι περὶ  
 τὰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀμφο-  
 τέροις τοῖς ἔθνεσι καλὴν καὶ πρέπουσαν. τοῦτο δὲ  
 γένομ' ἂν, εἰ νῦν μὲν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν  
 ἀπαγάγοις ἐνιαυσίους ποιησάμενος ἀνοχάς, ἐν δὲ  
 τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλων τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Post : ἐποίει O, Jacoby.

happy woman, you have endured because of my banishment, and cease to avenge yourself upon me by this garb. For though all other blessings, mother, have been conferred on me both by the gods and men above my hopes and beyond my prayers, yet the concern I have felt for you, whose old age I have not cherished in return for all your pains, has so sunk into my inmost being as to render my life bitter and incapable of enjoying all my blessings. But if you will take your place by my side and consent to share all I possess, no longer will any of the blessings which fall to the lot of man be lacking to me."

XLVIII. When he had ended, Veturia, after waiting a short time till the great and long-continued applause of the bystanders ceased, spoke to him as follows :

"But I, Marcius, my son, neither ask you to become a traitor to the Volscians who received you when an exile and, among other honours, entrusted you with the command of their army, nor do I desire that, contrary to the agreements and to the sworn pledges you gave them when you took command of their forces, you should arbitrarily, without the general consent, put an end to enmity. And do not imagine that your mother has been filled with such fatuousness as to urge her dear and only son to shameful and wicked actions. On the contrary, I ask you to withdraw from the war only with the general consent of the Volscians, after you have persuaded them to use moderation with regard to an accommodation and to make such a peace as shall be honourable and seemly for both nations. This may be done if you will now withdraw your forces, first making a truce for a year, and will in the meantime, by sending and receiving

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δεχόμενος ἀληθῇ φιλίαν πράττοις καὶ διαλλαγὰς  
 3 βεβαίως. καὶ εὖ ἴσθι· Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ὅσα μήτε τὸ  
 ἀδύνατον μήτε ἄλλη τις ἀδοξία προσοῦσα<sup>1</sup> κωλύσει,  
 πάντα ὑπομενουῦσι πράττειν λόγῳ καὶ παρακλήσει  
 πειθόμενοι, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δ', ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν ἀξιοῖς,  
 οὐθὲν ἂν πώποτε χαρίσαιντο ὑμῖν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ'  
 ἔλαττον, ὥς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν πάρεστί σοι  
 καταμαθεῖν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐξ ὧν Λατίνοις  
 συνεχώρησαν ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων. Οὐο-  
 λοῦσκοι δὲ πολὺ τὸ αὐθαδὲς ἔχουσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει  
 4 τοῖς μεγάλα εὐτυχήσασιν· ἐὰν δὲ<sup>2</sup> διδάσκῃς αὐτοὺς  
 ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν εἰρήνη παντός ἐστι πολέμου κρείττων,  
 σύμβασις δὲ φίλων κατὰ τὸν ἐκούσιον γινομένη  
 τρόπον τῶν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης συγχωρηθέντων βεβαιο-  
 τέρα, καὶ ὅτι σωφρόνων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν μὲν  
 εὖ πράττειν δοκῶσι, ταμιεύεσθαι τὰς τύχας, ὅταν  
 δ' εἰς ταπεινὰς καὶ φαύλας ἔλθωσι, μηθὲν ὑπομένειν  
 ἀγεννές, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ ἐπι-  
 εῖκειαν ἐπαγωγὰ παιδεύματα εὔρηται λόγων, οὓς  
 ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττοντες μάλιστ' ἐπί-  
 στασθε,<sup>3</sup> εὖ ἴσθ'<sup>4</sup> ὅτι τοῦ τε αὐχήματος ἐφ' οὗ νῦν  
 εἰσιν ἐκόντες ὑποβήσονται, καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐξουσίαν  
 5 σοι τοῦ πράττειν ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνῃς  
 συνοίσειν. ἐὰν δ' ἀντιπράττωσί σοι καὶ τοὺς λό-  
 γους μὴ προσδέχωνται, ταῖς διὰ σέ καὶ διὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> προσοῦσα B : προσπεσοῦσα AC.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ added by Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπίστασθε added by Jacoby, προχείρους ἔχετε by Reiske, ἔχετε διὰ στόμα by Capps, σπουδάσετε (or ἀσκεῖτε) by Sintenis.

<sup>4</sup> εὖ ἴσθ' (ἴσθι) Reiske, ἴσθι Sintenis : ἴστε O, Jacoby.

ambassadors, work to bring about a genuine friendship and a firm reconciliation. And be well assured of this : the Romans, in so far as no impossible condition or any dishonour attaching to the terms prevents, will consent to perform them all if won over by persuasion and exhortation, but if compulsion is attempted, as you now think proper, they will never make any concession, great or small, to please you, as you may learn from many other instances and particularly from the concessions they recently made to the Latins after these had laid down their arms. As to the Volscians, on the other hand, their arrogance is now great, as happens to all who have met with signal success ; but if you point out to them that ‘ any peace is preferable to any war,’ that ‘ a voluntary agreement between friends is more secure than concessions extorted by necessity,’ and that ‘ it is the part of wise men, when they seem to be prosperous, to husband their good fortune, but when their fortunes become low and paltry, to submit to nothing that is ignoble,’ and if you make use of such other instructive maxims conducive to moderation and reasonableness as have been devised, maxims with which you politicians in particular are familiar,<sup>1</sup> be assured that they will voluntarily recede from their present boastfulness and give you authority to do anything you believe will be to their advantage. But if they oppose you and refuse to accept your proposals, being elated by the successes they have

see the critical note. The translation follows Jacoby’s emendation—literally, “ which you politicians more than anyone understand.” The proposal of Reiske means “ which you . . . have ready at hand ” ; that of Capps, “ which you . . . have at your tongues’ end ” ; that of Sintenis, “ which you . . . cultivate (or practise).”

ἡγεμονίαν τὴν σὴν γενομέναις περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχαις  
ὥς αἰεὶ διαμενούσαις ἐπαιρόμενοι, τῆς στρατηγίας  
αὐτοῖς ἀφίστασο φανερώς, καὶ μήτε προδότης γίνου  
τῶν πεπιστευκότων μήτε πολέμιος τῶν ἀναγκαιο-  
τάτων· ἀσεβὲς γὰρ ἐκάτερον. ταῦτα ἤκω δεομένη  
σου γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ σοῦ, Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὔτε  
ἀδύνατα, ὥς σὺ φῆς, πάσης τε ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνοσίου  
συνειδήσεως καθαρὰ.

XLIX. “ Φέρε, ἀλλὰ δόξαν αἰσχρὰν οἴσεσθαι  
δέδοικας, ἐὰν ἃ παρακαλῶ σε πράττης, ὥς ἀχάρισ-  
τος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐξελεγχθησόμενος, οἷ σε  
πολέμιον ὄντα ὑποδεξάμενοι πάντων μετέδωκαν ὧν  
τοῖς φύσει πολίταις μέτεστιν ἀγαθῶν· ταῦτα γάρ  
2 ἐστὶν ἃ μεγάλα ποιεῖς τοῖς λόγοις αἰεὶ. οὐκ ἀπο-  
δέδωκας οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ  
νενίκηκας ἀπείρω δὴ τινι μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει<sup>1</sup> χαρί-  
των τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων εὐεργεσίας; οὓς ἀγαπητὸν  
ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντων μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν,<sup>2</sup> ἐὰν  
ἐλευθέρας οἰκῶσι τὰς πατρίδας, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῶν  
κυρίου εἶναι βεβαίως παρεσκεύακας, ἀλλὰ καὶ<sup>3</sup>  
πεποίηκας ἤδη σκοπεῖν πότερα καταλῦσαι τὴν  
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἄμεινον ἢ μετέχειν αὐτῆς  
3 ἐξ ἴσου κοινὴν καταστησαμένους πολιτείαν. ἐῷ  
γὰρ λέγειν ὅσοις κεκόσμηκας ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου  
λαφύροις τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ πηλίκους κεχάρισαι  
τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις πλούτους. τοὺς δὴ τοσού-  
τους διὰ σέ γενομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τηλικαύτης βεβη-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πλήθει B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> ἀγαθῶν B : ἀγαθόν R.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς Reiske : αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν B, ἀρχὴν R.



gained through you and your leadership, as if these would always continue, resign publicly the command of their army and make yourself neither a traitor to those who have trusted you nor an enemy to those who are nearest to you ; for to do either is impious. These are the favours I have come begging you to grant me, Marcius, my son, and they are not only not impossible to grant, as you assert, but are free from any consciousness on my part of an unjust or impious intent.

XLIX. “ But come, you are afraid perhaps that if you do what I urge you will incur a shameful reputation, believing that you will stand convicted of ingratitude to your benefactors, who received you, an enemy, and shared with you all the advantages to which their native-born citizens are entitled ; for these are the things you constantly stress in your remarks. Have you not, then, made them many fine returns, and have you not by the favours you have bestowed, well nigh limitless in magnitude and number, surpassed the kindnesses received from them ? Though they regarded it as enough and as the greatest of all blessings if they could continue to live as freemen in their native cities, you have not only made them securely their own masters, but have also brought it about that they are already considering whether it is better for them to destroy the dominion of the Romans or to have an equal share in it by forming a joint commonwealth. I say nothing of all the spoils of war with which you have adorned their cities nor of the great riches you have bestowed upon those who accompanied you on your expeditions. Do you believe that those who through your aid have become so great and have entered upon such pros-



κότας εὐτυχίας οὐ δοκεῖς ἀγαπήσειν οἷς ἔχουσιν  
 ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὀργιεῖσθαί σοι καὶ ἀγανακτῆσειν, ἐὰν  
 μὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος αἷμα ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν  
 4 ἐπισπείσῃς; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι. εἰς<sup>1</sup> ἔτι μοι  
 καταλείπεται λόγος, ἰσχυρὸς μὲν, ἐὰν λογισμῶ  
 κρίνῃς αὐτόν, ἀσθενὴς δ', ἐὰν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὁ περὶ  
 τῆς οὐ δικαίως μισουμένης ὑπὸ σοῦ πατρίδος.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ κόσμῳ πολι-  
 τευομένη τὴν οὐ δικαίαν κατὰ σοῦ κρίσιν ἐξήνεγκεν,  
 ἀλλὰ νοσοῦσα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι σαλευομένη,  
 οὔτε ἅπασα ταύτην τὴν<sup>2</sup> γνώμην τότε ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ  
 τὸ κάκιον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος πονηροῖς προστάταις  
 5 χρῆσάμενον. εἰ δέ δὴ μὴ τοῖς κακίστοις μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ ὥς  
 οὐ τὰ κράτιστα πολιτευόμενος ἀπηλάθῃς ὑπ' αὐ-  
 τῶν, οὐδ' οὕτω σοι προσῆκε μνησικακεῖν πρὸς τὴν  
 σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πολιτευομένων τὰ παραπλήσια  
 συνέβη παθεῖν· καὶ σπάνιοι δὴ τινές εἰσιν οἷς οὐκ  
 ἀντέπνευσε πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀρετὴν φθόνος ἐκ  
 6 τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ἄδικος.<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνως,  
 ὦ Μάρκιε, φέρουσι καὶ μετρίως ἅπαντες οἱ γενναῖοι  
 τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ πόλεις μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν αἷς  
 οἰκῆσαντες οὐθὲν λυπήσουσι τὰς πατρίδας· ὥσπερ  
 καὶ Ταρκύνιος ἐποίησεν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπικαλού-  
 μενος (ἱκανὸν ἐν παραδείγμα καὶ οἰκείον),<sup>4</sup> ὃς  
 συνελευθερώσας ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς πολίτας,

<sup>1</sup> εἰς added by Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτην τὴν Kiessling : τὴν αὐτὴν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἄδικος B : ἀδίκως R.

<sup>4</sup> This parenthesis rejected by Cobet as spurious; καὶ omitted in B.

perity will not be content with the blessings they have, but will be angry with you and indignant if you do not also spill by their hands your country's blood? For my part, I do not believe so. I have still one point left to speak of—a strong one if you judge of it by reason, but weak if you judge by passion. I refer to the unjust hatred you bear toward your country. For the commonwealth was neither in a state of health nor governed according to the established constitution when she pronounced that unjust sentence against you, but was diseased and tossed in a violent tempest; nor did the state as a whole entertain this opinion at that time, but only the baser element in it, which had followed evil leaders. Yet supposing not only the worst of the citizens, but all the rest as well had been of this mind, and you had been banished by them as not acting for the best interests of the state, not even in that case did it become you to bear any resentment against your country. For it has fallen to the lot of many others, you know, of those whose policies were prompted by the best motives, to have the same experience, and few indeed are those who have not, because of their reputation for virtue, felt the breath of unjust envy on the part of their political rivals. But all who are high-minded, Marcius, bear their misfortunes like men and with moderation, and remove to other cities in which they can dwell without causing harm to their fatherland. This was the case with Tarquinius, surnamed Colatinus. (A single instance and one from our own history will suffice.)<sup>1</sup> He had assisted in freeing his fellow citizens from the tyrants, but was later accused

<sup>1</sup> This parenthetical remark is perhaps due to a scribe.

ἔπειτα διαβληθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς συμπράττων  
 πάλιν τοῖς τυράννοις τὴν κάθοδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 ἐξελαθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκει  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας αὐτόν, οὐδ' ἐπεστράτευε τῇ  
 πόλει τοὺς τυράννους ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ἐποίει  
 τεκμήρια τῶν διαβολῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν  
 μητρόπολιν ἡμῶν Λαοῦνιον ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ πάντα  
 τὸν λοιπὸν ἐβίω χρόνον εὖνους ὦν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ  
 φίλος.

L. “Ἔστω δ' οὖν ὁμως, καὶ δεδόσθω τοῖς τὰ  
 δεινὰ παθοῦσι μὴ διακρίνειν εἴτε φίλιον εἴη τὸ  
 κακῶς δεδρακὸς εἴτε ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ' ἴσην πρὸς  
 ἅπαντας ὀργὴν ἔχειν· ἔπειτα οὐχ ἱκανὰς εἰσπέπρα-  
 ξαι παρὰ τῶν ὑβρισάντων σε δίκας γῆν τε αὐτῶν  
 τὴν ἀρίστην πεποιηκῶς μηλόβοτον καὶ πόλεις  
 διαπεπορθηκῶς συμμαχίδας, ἃς πολλοῖς πόνοις  
 κτησάμενοι κατέσχον,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τρίτον ἤδη τοῦτ' ἔτος  
 εἰς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων κατακεκλεικῶς αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀπορίαν; ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι<sup>3</sup> ἀνδραποδισμού τῆς  
 πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν ἀγριαίνουσιν  
 2 καὶ μαινομένην ὀργὴν προάγεις<sup>4</sup>· καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς  
 πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις φέροντάς  
 σοι τῶν τε ἐγκλημάτων ἄφεσιν καὶ κάθοδον ἐπὶ  
 τὰ οἰκεῖα φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας  
 ἐνετράπης, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς οὓς τὸ τελευταῖον  
 ἔπεμψεν ἡ πόλις, γηραιοὺς ἄνδρας<sup>5</sup> ἱερὰ στέμματα  
 θεῶν προτείνοντας,<sup>6</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπήλασας,  
 αὐθάδεις καὶ δεσποτικὰς ὡς κεκρατημένοις ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> κτησάμενοι κατέσχον Sylburg : κτησαμένη κατέσχε O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς added by Schenkl.

<sup>3</sup> μέχρι Reiske, πόρρω Jacoby : περὶ O.

before them of attempting in turn to restore these tyrants and for that reason was himself banished from his country ; yet he retained no resentment against those who had exiled him, nor would he march against his country bringing with him the tyrants nor commit acts that would substantiate the charges made against him, but retiring to Lavinium, our mother-city, he spent the remainder of his life there, continuing loyal to his country and its friend.

L. " Conceding the point nevertheless, and granting the right to all who have suffered grievously not to distinguish whether those who have injured them are friends or aliens but to direct their anger against all impartially, even so have you not taken a sufficient revenge on such as abused you, now that you have turned their best land into a sheep-walk, have utterly destroyed the cities of their allies, which they had acquired and held at the cost of many hardships, and have reduced them now for the third year to a great scarcity of provisions ? But you carry your wild and mad resentment even to the point of enslaving them and razing their city ; and you showed no regard even for the envoys sent to you by the senate, men of worth and your friends, who came to offer you a dismissal of the charges and leave to return home, nor yet for the priests whom the commonwealth sent at the last to you, old men holding before them the holy garlands of the gods ; but these also you drove away, giving a haughty and imperious answer to them as

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<sup>4</sup> προάγεις Ba : προσάγεις ABb.

<sup>5</sup> γηραιούς ἄνδρας placed here by Portus : after ἱερὰ στέμματα θεῶν ἔχοντας by O ; Jacoby deleted.

<sup>6</sup> προτείνοντας Capps : ἔχοντας γηραιούς ἄνδρας προτείνοντας ABD, ἔχοντας καὶ προτείνοντας Portus, Jacoby.

3 κρίσεις δούς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπαινέσω  
ταῦτα τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ ὑπέραυχα καὶ τὴν θνητὴν  
φύσιν ἐκβεβηκότα δικαιώματα, ὁρῶσα καταφυγὰς  
εὐρημένας ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ παραιτήσεις ὧν  
ἂν ἐξαμαρτάνωσι περὶ ἀλλήλους ἱκετηρίας καὶ  
λιτάς,<sup>1</sup> ὑφ' ὧν μαραίνεται πᾶσα ὀργὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ  
μισεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεεῖ· τοὺς δ' αὐθαδεῖα χρη-  
σαμένους καὶ λιτάς ἱκετῶν ὑβρίσαντας ἅπαντας  
νεμεσσωμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ εἰς συμφορὰς κατα-  
4 στρέφοντας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς. αὐτοὶ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον οἱ  
ταῦτα καταστησάμενοι<sup>2</sup> καὶ παραδόντες ἡμῖν θεοὶ  
συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις εἰσὶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ  
εὐδιάλλακτοι, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤδη μεγάλα εἰς αὐτοὺς  
ἐξαμαρτάνοντες<sup>3</sup> εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τὸν χόλον ἐξ-  
ιλάσαντο· εἰ μὴ σύ, ὦ Μάρκιε, ἀξιοῖς τὰς μὲν τῶν  
θεῶν ὀργὰς θνητὰς εἶναι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀθανάτους. δίκαια μὲν οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ σεαυτῷ  
πρέποντα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ἀφείς αὐτῇ<sup>4</sup> τὰ ἐγκλήματα  
μετανοούσῃ γε καὶ διαλλαττομένη καὶ ὅσα πρότερον  
ἀφείλετό σοι νῦν ἀποδιδούσῃ.

LI. “ Εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχεις,  
ἐμοὶ ταύτην δός, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν,  
παρ' ἧς οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἔχεις οὐδ' ὧν ἀντι-  
ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τις καὶ ἕτερος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ  
τιμιώτατα καὶ οἷς ἅπαντα τὰ λοιπὰ κέκτησαι, τὸ  
σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. δανείσματα γὰρ ἔχεις ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> After λιτάς the MSS. all add : καὶ τὸ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἡδικομένους τὸ ἀδικοῦν ταπεινόν, θεῶν ἡμῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη κατα-  
στησασμένων. Jacoby deleted.

<sup>2</sup> Portus (and B, according to Jacoby) : παραστησάμενοι R.

to men who had been conquered. For my part, I cannot commend these harsh and overbearing claims, which overstep the bounds of human nature, when I observe that a refuge for all men and the means of securing forgiveness for their offences one against another have been devised in the form of suppliant boughs and prayers, by which all anger is softened and instead of hating one's enemy one pities him; and when I observe also that those who act arrogantly and treat with insolence the prayers of suppliants all incur the indignation of the gods and in the end come to a miserable state. For the gods themselves, who in the first place instituted and delivered to us these customs, are disposed to forgive the offences of men and are easily reconciled; and many have there been ere now who, though greatly sinning against them, have appeased their anger by prayers and sacrifices. Unless you think it fitting, Marcius, that the anger of the gods should be mortal, but that of men immortal! You will be doing, then, what is just and becoming both to yourself and to your country if you forgive her her offences, seeing that she is repentant and ready to be reconciled and to restore to you now everything that she took away from you before.

LI. "But if you are indeed irreconcilable to her, grant, my son, this honour and favour to me, at least, from whom you have received, not the boons that are of least value nor those to which another also might lay claim, but rather those that are the greatest and most precious and have enabled you to acquire everything else you possess—namely, your body and your soul. These are loans you have from me, and neither

<sup>3</sup> ἑξαμαρτάνοντες O : ἑξαμαρτόντες Portus, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφείς αὐτῇ Kiessling : αὐτῇ, ἀφείς O, Jacoby.



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ἐμά, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεταιί με ταῦτα οὐθεις οὔτε  
 τόπος οὔτε καιρός, οὔδέ γε αἱ Οὐολούσκων οὔδὲ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαι συμπάντων καὶ  
 χάριτες τοσοῦτον ἰσχύουσιν<sup>1</sup> οὔδ' ἂν οὐρανομήκεις  
 γένωνται, ὥστε τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐξαλεῖψαι καὶ παρ-  
 ελθεῖν δίκαια· ἀλλ' ἐμὸς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔση  
 καὶ πρώτη πάντων τὰς τοῦ βίου χάριτας ὀφειλήσεις  
 ἐμοί,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὦν ἂν δέωμαι δίχα προφάσεως ὑπουργή-  
 2 σεις. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος ὥρισεν ἅπασι  
 τοῖς αἰσθήσεως καὶ λόγου μετειληφόσι τὸ δίκαιον,  
 ὧ πιστεύουσα, Μάρκιε τέκνον, καὶ γὰρ δέομαί σου μὴ  
 ἐπάγειν πόλεμον τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ἐμποδὼν ἵσταμαί  
 σοι βιαζομένῳ. ἢ προτέραν οὖν ἐμέ τὴν ἐναντιου-  
 μένην σοι μητέρα ταῖς ἐρινύσι προθυσάμενος αὐτο-  
 χειρία τότε τοῦ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἅπτου πολέμου,  
 ἢ τὸ μητροκτόνον ἄγος αἰδούμενος εἶξον τῇ σεαυτοῦ  
 3 μητρὶ καὶ δός, ὧ τέκνον, τὴν χάριν ἐκών. νόμον  
 μὲν οὖν<sup>3</sup> τόνδε, ὃν οὐθεις πώποτε ἀνελεῖ<sup>4</sup> χρόνος,  
 τιμωρὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα οὐκ ἀξιῶ, Μάρκιε,  
 μόνη τιμῶν ἃς οὗτός μοι δίδωσιν ἄμοιρος ἐκ σοῦ  
 γενέσθαι· ἔργων δὲ χρηστῶν ὑπομνήσεις, ἵν' ἀφῶ  
 τὸν νόμον, σκόπει πάλιν ὡς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας·  
 ἥτις ὀρφανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα σε<sup>5</sup>  
 παραλαβοῦσα νήπιον διέμεινα ἐπὶ σοὶ χήρα καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς παιδοτροφίας ἀνήντηλα πόνους, οὐ  
 μήτηρ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατήρ<sup>6</sup> καὶ τροφὸς καὶ  
 4 ἀδελφὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ φίλτατά σοι γενομένη. ἐπειδὴ  
 δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἦλθες, ἐξόν μοι τότε ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν  
 φροντίδων ἐτέρῳ γημαμένην καὶ ἕτερα τέκνα ἐπι-  
 θρέψαι καὶ πολλὰς γηροβοσκούς ἐλπίδας ἐμαυτῇ

<sup>1</sup> Steph. : ἰσχύουσιν AB, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling : μοι O.

<sup>3</sup> οὖν added by Reiske.



place nor time will ever deprive me of them, nor will the benefactions and favours of the Volscians or of all the rest of mankind together, even if they should reach the heavens in magnitude, avail to efface and surpass the rights of Nature ; but you will be mine forever, and to me before all others you will owe gratitude for your life, and you will oblige me in everything I ask without alleging any excuse. For this is a right which the law of Nature has prescribed for all who partake of sense and reason ; and putting my trust in this law, Marcius, my son, I too beg of you not to make war upon your country, and I stand in your way if you resort to violence. Either, therefore, first sacrifice with your own hand to the Furies your mother who opposes you and then begin the war against your country, or, if you shrink from the guilt of matricide, yield to your mother, my son, and grant this favour willingly. Having this law, then, which no lapse of time will ever repeal, to avenge my wrongs and be my ally, I cannot consent, Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of honours to which it entitles me. But leaving this law aside, consider in turn the reminders I have to give you of the good offices you have received from me, how many and how great they are. When you were left an orphan by your father, I took you as an infant, and for your sake I remained a widow and underwent the labours of rearing you, showing myself not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a sister, and everything that is dearest. When you reached manhood and it was in my power to be freed from these cares by marrying again, to rear other children, and lay up many hopes

<sup>4</sup> Cobet : ἀνείλε O.      <sup>5</sup> σε B : om. R.

<sup>6</sup> πατήρ B : πατήρ καὶ ἀδελφός R.

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καταβαλεῖν,<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἀλλ' ἔμεινα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔστερξα βίον, ἐν σοὶ μόνῳ πάσας τιθεῖσα τὰς ἐμαυτῆς ἡδονάς τε καὶ ὠφελείας· ὧν ἔψευσάς με τὰ μὲν ἄκων, τὰ δ' ἐκών, καὶ πασῶν ἀτυχεστάτην ἐποίησας μητέρων. ποῖον γὰρ χρόνον, ἀφ' οὗ σε εἰς ἄνδρας ἡγαγον, ἄνευ λύπης ἢ φόβου διετέλεσα, ἢ πότε ἰλαρὰν ἔσχον ἐπὶ σοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πολέμους ἐπὶ πολέμοις στέλλοντα ὁρῶσά σε καὶ μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις ἀναιρούμενον καὶ τραύματα ἐπὶ τραύμασι λαμβάνοντα;

LII. “ Ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ<sup>2</sup> ἐπολιτεύου καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττες, ἡδονὴν τινα ἐκαρπώσαμην ἢ μήτηρ ἐγὼ διὰ σέ; τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ μάλιστα ἡτύχουν στάσεως πολιτικῆς μέσον ὁρῶσά σε κείμενον. ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἀνθεῖν ἐδόκεις πολιτεύμασι καὶ πολὺς ἔπνεις ἐναντιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φόβου μεστὰ ἦν ἐνθυμουμένη τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὡς ἐπὶ μικρᾶς αἰωρεῖται ῥοπῆς, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκουσμάτων τε καὶ παθημάτων μαθούσῃ ὅτι τοῖς ἐπισήμοις ἀνδράσι θεία τις ἐναντιοῦται νέμεσις ἢ φθόνος τις ἀνθρώπινος πολεμεῖ· καὶ ἦν ἄρα μάντις ἀληθής, ὡς μήποτε ὠφελον,<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐκβησομένων. κατηγωνίσαστό γε οὖν σε πολὺς ἐπιρράξας ὁ πολιτικὸς φθόνος καὶ ἀνῆρπασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος· ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτά μου βίος, εἰ δὴ καὶ βίον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀφ' οὗ με καταλιπὼν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδίοις τούτοις ἀπῆλθες, ἐν τούτῳ δεδαπάνηται τῷ  
2 ρύπῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πενθίμοις τρύχεσι τούτοις. ἀνθ'

<sup>1</sup> Capps : καταλιπεῖν O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ οὗ Gelenius : ἐξ ὧν O.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby : ὄφελον O.

to support me in my old age, I would not do so, but remained at the same hearth and put up with the same kind of life, placing all my pleasures and all my advantages in you alone. Of these you have disappointed me, partly against your will and partly of your own accord, and have made me the most wretched of all mothers. For what time, since I brought you up to manhood, have I passed free from grief or fear? Or when have I possessed a spirit cheerful on your account, seeing you always undertaking wars upon wars, engaged in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon wounds?

LII. "But from the time when you took up the life of a statesman and engaged in public affairs have I, your mother, enjoyed any pleasure on your account? Nay, it was then that I was most unhappy, seeing you placed in the midst of civil strife. For those very measures which seemed to make you flourish and blow strong in popularity as you opposed the plebeians in behalf of the aristocracy filled me with fear, as I called to mind what the life of man is, how it hangs nicely suspended as in a balance, and had learned from many instances which I had heard and experienced that a kind of divine vengeance opposes men of prominence or a certain envy of men makes war upon them; and I proved a true prophet of what was to be—would to Heaven I had not! At any rate, you were overpowered by the ill-will of your fellow citizens, which burst upon you violently and snatched you away from your country; and my life thereafter—if, indeed I ought to call it life since you departed leaving me and these children, too, desolate—has been spent in this squalor and in these rent garments of mourning. In return for all this I,

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ὦν ἀπάντων ταύτην ἀπαιτῶ σε χάριν, μηδέποτε σοι βαρεῖα γενομένη μηδ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσομένη χρόνον, ἕως ἂν ζῶ, διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ παύσασθαι τὸν ἀμείλικτον χόλον φυλάσσοντα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἀξιούσα λαβεῖν καὶ οὐκ  
 3 ἔμαυτῆς ἴδιον μόνης. σοί τε γάρ, ἔαν πεισθῆς καὶ μηθὲν ἀνήκεστον ἔξεργάσῃ, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἔχειν συμβήσεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς χόλου καὶ ταραγματος δαιμονίου· ἐμοί τε ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τε καὶ πολιτῶν τιμὴ ζώσῃ τε παρακολουθοῦσα τὸν<sup>1</sup> βίον εὐδαίμονα ποιήσῃ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀποδιδομένη καθάπερ εἰκὸς εὐκλείαν ἀθάνατον  
 4 οἶσει. καὶ εἴ τις ἄρα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους ψυχὰς ἀπολυθείσας τοῦ σώματος ὑποδέξεται τόπος, οὐχ ὁ καταχθόνιος καὶ ἀφεγγῆς ὑποδέξεται τὴν ἐμήν, ἐν ᾧ φασι τοὺς κακοδαίμονας οἰκεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Λήθης πεδίον, ἀλλ' ὁ μετέωρος καὶ καθαρὸς αἰθήρ, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐκ θεῶν φύντας οἰκεῖν λόγος εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἔχοντας βίον· οἷς διαγγέλλουσα τὸ σὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὰς σὰς χάριτας, αἷς αὐτὴν ἐκόσμησας, αἰεὶ τινὰς αἰτήσεταιί σοι παρὰ θεῶν ἀμοιβὰς καλὰς.

LIII. “Ἐὰν δὲ προπηλακίσῃς τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ ἄτιμον ἀπολύσῃς, ὃ τι μὲν αὐτῷ σοι συμβήσεται διὰ ταῦτα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, μαντεύομαι δ' οὐδὲν εὐτυχές. ὅτι δ' ἔαν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα εὐδαιμονῆς, ἔστω γάρ, ἡ δι' ἐμὲ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς συμφορὰς παρακολουθήσουσά σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀνήσουςα τὴν ψυχὴν ὀδύνη πάντων ἀγαθῶν

<sup>1</sup> τὸν added by Kiessling, Jacoby.

<sup>1</sup> Forgetfulness.

who was never a burden to you nor ever shall be as long as I live, ask this favour of you—that you will at last be reconciled to your fellow citizens and cease nursing that implacable anger against your country. In doing this I am but asking to receive what will be a boon common to us both, and not mine alone. For you, if you hearken to me and commit no irreparable deed, will have a mind free and unvexed by any heaven-sent wrath and disquiet, while as for me, the honour I shall receive from the men and women of the city, attending me while I live, will make my life happy, and being paid to my memory after my death, as I may well expect, will bring me everlasting fame. And if there is in very truth a place which will receive men's souls when released from the body, it is not that subterranean and gloomy place where, men say, the unhappy dwell, that will receive mine, nor the region called the Plain of Lethe,<sup>1</sup> but the pure ether high up in the heavens, where, as report has it, those who are sprung from the gods dwell, enjoying a happy and a blessed life ; and to them my soul will relate your piety and the acts of kindness with which you honoured her, and will ever ask the gods to requite you with glorious rewards.

LIII. “ If, however, you treat your mother with indignity and send her away unhonoured, what you yourself will have to suffer for this I cannot say, though I presage no happiness. But even if you should be fortunate in all other respects—for let that be assumed—yet your compunction because of me and my afflictions, haunting you and never giving respite to your soul, will rob your life of the enjoy-

2 σοι ἀνόνητον ποιήσῃ τὸν βίον, εὖ οἶδα. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἀνέξεται Οὐετουρία τὴν δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὕβριν  
 ἐν τοσούτοις μάρτυσιν ὕβρισθῆῖσα τὸν ἐλάχιστον  
 βιώσῃ χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν φίλων  
 τε καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄμμασιν ἐμαυτὴν διαχρήσομαι,  
 βαρεῖαν ἂρὰν καὶ δεινὰς ἐρινύας ἀντ' ἐμαυτῆς  
 3 καταλιποῦσά σοι τιμωρούς. ὦν μὴ δεήσῃεν, ὦ  
 θεοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φύλακες ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ' εὐ-  
 σεβεῖς καὶ καλοὺς δοίητε Μαρκίῳ λογισμούς· καὶ  
 ὥσπερ ἄρτι προσιούσῃ μοι τοὺς τε πελέκεις ἀπ-  
 ἔθετο καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους ἔκλινε καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ βήματος ἔθηκε χαμαὶ καὶ<sup>1</sup> πάντα τᾶλλα οἷς  
 κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτοκράτορας ἀρχὰς νόμος, τὰ μὲν  
 ἐμείωσε, τὰ δ' ἐκποδὼν εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε,<sup>1</sup> δῆλον  
 ἅπασιν βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων  
 ἄρχῃ αὐτῷ προσῆκεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἄρχε-  
 σθαι, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τιμίαν καὶ περίβλεπτόν με  
 ποιήσῃ, καὶ χαρισάμενος τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα ἀντὶ  
 4 κακοδαιμονεστάτης εὐδαιμονεστάτην ἀποδείξειέ με  
 πασῶν γυναικῶν. εἰ δὲ ὅσιόν<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶ καὶ θεμιτὸν  
 υἱοῦ γόνασι μητέρα προσκυλίεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ  
 πᾶν ἄλλο ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ λειτούργημα ὑπο-  
 μενω σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τῆς πατρίδος."

LIV. Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν χαμαὶ καὶ  
 περιπλέξασα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τοὺς πόδας  
 τοῦ Μαρκίου κατεφίλησε. πεσοῦσής δ' αὐτῆς αἰ-  
 μὲν γυναῖκες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα πᾶσαι κωκυτὸν ὀξύν  
 καὶ μακρόν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντες Οὐο-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάντα . . . εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε rejected as a gloss by  
 Garrer, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : αἷσιον O.



ment of all its blessings ; this I do know full well. Veturia, for one thing, after this cruel and irreparable ignominy received before so many witnesses, will not bear to live a moment ; nay, I will kill myself before the eyes of all of you, both friends and enemies, leaving to you in my stead a grievous curse and dire furies to be my avengers. May there be no occasion for this, O gods who guard the empire of the Romans, but inspire Marcius with sentiments of piety and honour ; and just as a little while ago at my approach he ordered the axes to be laid aside, the rods to be lowered, and his chair to be taken from the tribunal and placed on the ground, and as for all the other observances by which it is the custom to honour supreme magistrates, he moderated some and did away with others altogether,<sup>1</sup> desiring to make it clear to all that though it was fitting that he should rule all others, by his mother he should be ruled, even so may he now also make me honoured and conspicuous, and by giving me back our common country as a favour, render me, instead of the most ill-starred, the most fortunate of all women. And if it is right and lawful for a mother to grovel at the feet of her son, even to this and every other posture and office of humility will I submit in order to save my country."

LIV. With these words she threw herself upon the ground, and embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, she kissed them. As soon as she fell prostrate, all the women cried out together, raising a loud and prolonged wailing ; and the Volscians who

<sup>1</sup> The words " and, as for all the other observances . . . and did away with others altogether " were rejected by Garrar and Jacoby as an interpolation. There is nothing corresponding to these words in chap. 44, 3 and 45, 3, where the actual circumstances are related.



λούσκων οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο τὴν ἀήθειαν<sup>1</sup> τῆς ὄψεως, ἀλλ' ἀπεστράφησαν. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος ἀναλό-  
μενος ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ περιπεσὼν τῇ μητρὶ  
ἀνίστησιν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὀλίγον ἐμπνέουσας,  
καὶ περιβαλὼν<sup>2</sup> καὶ πολλὰ ἐκχέας δάκρυα εἶπε·  
“ Νικᾶς, ὦ μῆτερ, οὐκ εὐτυχῇ νίκην οὔτε σεαυτῇ  
οὔτ' ἐμοί· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πατρίδα σέσωκας, ἐμὲ δὲ  
τὸν εὐσεβῇ καὶ φιλόστοργον υἱὸν ἀπολώλεκας.”

- <sup>2</sup> ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπῆει κελεύσας  
ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ  
παιδιά, ἔνθα τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον σκοπού-  
μενος σὺν αὐταῖς ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν διετέλεσεν. ἦν  
δὲ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς τοιάδε· περὶ μὲν τῆς καθόδου  
μήτε τὴν βουλὴν τέλος μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὸν  
δῆμον μήτ' ἐκείνον ἐπιψηφίζειν, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς  
Οὐολούσκοις εὐτρεπῇ γένηται τὰ περὶ φιλίας καὶ  
καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου· αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν  
ἀναστήσαντα ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς ἀπάγειν· ὑπο-  
σχόντα δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας  
ἀποδειξάμενον ἀξιῶν τοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτῷ τὴν  
στρατιάν, μάλιστα μὲν φιλία δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολε-  
μίους καὶ συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι δικαίας, αὐτῷ τὴν  
ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ μὴ σφαλῆναι περὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας  
<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτρέψαντας. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις σφί-  
σιν αὐθαδείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι μὴ δέχονται τὰς  
διαλλαγάς, ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς. ἥ γὰρ  
οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ αἰρεῖσθαι στρατ-  
ηγὸν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἥ παρακινδυνεύ-  
σαντας ὁπωδήτινι παραδοῦναι τὰς δυνάμεις σὺν  
μεγάλῃ διδαχθήσεσθαι βλάβῃ τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος

<sup>1</sup> ἀήθειαν B : ἀλήθειαν R.

<sup>2</sup> περιβαλὼν B : περιλαβὼν R.

were present at the assembly could not bear the unusual sight, but turned away their eyes. Marcius himself, leaping up from his seat, took his mother in his arms, and raising her up from the ground scarcely breathing, embraced her, and shedding many tears, said : " Yours is the victory, mother, but a victory which will be happy for neither you nor me. For though you have saved your country, you have ruined me, your dutiful and affectionate son." After saying this, he retired to his tent, bidding his mother, his wife, and his children follow him ; and there he passed the rest of the day in considering with them what should be done. The decisions they reached were as follows : That the senate should lay no proposal before the people providing for his return nor should the latter pass any vote till the Volscians should be ready to consider friendship and the termination of the war ; that Marcius should break camp and lead his army away as through friendly territory ; and that after he had given an accounting to the Volscians of his conduct in the command of their army and recounted the services he had done them, he should ask those who had entrusted him with the army, preferably to admit their enemies into friendship and to conclude a just treaty with them, commissioning him to see that the terms of the agreement were fair and free from guile ; but if, becoming puffed up with arrogance over their successes, they should reject an accommodation, he should resign the command they had given him. For they thought that the Volscians would either not bring themselves to choose another commander, for want of a good general, or, if they did run the hazard of handing over their forces to any chance person, they would learn through heavy losses

αἴρεσιν. τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα  
 δίκαιά τε καὶ ὅσια εἶναι, φήμης τε ἀγαθῆς, ἐφ' ἣ  
 μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐσπούδαζε, παρὰ πᾶσι τευξόμενα,  
 4 τοιάδε ἦν. ἐτάραττε δέ τις αὐτοὺς ὑποψία δέος  
 ἔχουσα, μή ποτε ἀλόγιστος ὄχλος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ  
 καταπεπολεμηκέναι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἤδη ὦν δι' ὀργῆς  
 ἀκράτου λάβῃ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν κᾷπειτα ὡς προδότην  
 αὐτὸν οὐδὲ λόγου μεταδοὺς αὐτοχειρίᾳ φθάσῃ δι-  
 ολέσας. ἐδόκει οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο  
 δεινότερον εἶη κινδύνευμα σὺν ἀρετῇ σώζουσι τὴν  
 5 πίστιν ὑπομένειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου ἦν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἤδη, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐξήρσαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς·  
 ἔπειθ' αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήρσαν, ὁ  
 δὲ Μάρκιος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοὺς τοῖς  
 παροῦσι δι' ἃς ἔμελλε λύειν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεηθεὶς συγγνωναί τε αὐτῷ καί,  
 ἐπειδὰν οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται, μεμνημένους ὦν ἔπαθον  
 εὖ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ μηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν  
 συναγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἐπ-  
 αγωγὰ διαλεχθεὶς παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς  
 τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύσοντας.

LV. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὡς ἔμαθον ὅτι λέλυται σφῶν ὁ  
 κίνδυνος (ἔφθασε γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν παρουσίαν  
 προλαβοῦσα ἡ φήμη), σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταλιπόντες  
 τὴν πόλιν ἔθεον ἔξω καὶ ὑπήντων ταῖς γυναιξὶν  
 ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ μεγάλων  
 κινδύνων εἰς ἀδόκητον εὐτυχίαν ἀνθρωπο κατα-  
 στάντες πράττουσί τε καὶ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, τὰ  
 μὲν ἀθρόοι, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> ἦν Steph. : om. AB.

<sup>2</sup> εὖ B : om. R.

to choose what was advantageous. Such were the subjects of their deliberation and such were the decisions they reached as just and right and calculated to win the good opinion of all men—a thing which Marcius had most at heart. But they were troubled by a suspicion, not unmixed with fear, that an unreasoning mob, now buoyed up with the hope that they had completely crushed their foe, might take their disappointment with uncontrolled anger and as a result put Marcius to death with their own hands as a traitor without even granting him a hearing. However, they determined to submit even to this or to any other danger still more formidable which they might incur in honourably keeping faith. When it was now near sunset, they embraced one another and left the tent, after which the women returned to the city. Then Marcius in an assembly of the troops laid before those present the reasons why he intended to put an end to the war ; and after earnestly beseeching the soldiers both to forgive him and, when they returned home, to remember the benefits they had received from him and to strive with him to prevent his suffering any irreparable injury at the hands of the other citizens, and after saying many other things calculated to win their support, he ordered them to make ready to break camp the following night.

LV. When the Romans heard that their peril was over—for the report of it was brought before the arrival of the women—they left the city with great joy, and running out to meet them, embraced them, sang songs of triumph, and now all together and now one by one showed all the signs of joy which men who emerge out of great dangers into unexpected good fortune exhibit in both their words and actions. That

2 ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἐν θαλείαις τε καὶ  
 εὐπαθείαις διετέλεσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συν-  
 αχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ βουλὴ περὶ μὲν τοῦ  
 Μαρκίου γνώμην ἀπεδείξαντο εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβάλ-  
 λεσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδειότερους τὰς δοθησομένας  
 αὐτῷ τιμὰς· ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἔπαινόν τε ἀποδεδό-  
 σθαι τῆς προθυμίας ἔνεκα<sup>1</sup> δημοσίᾳ γραφῇ μνήμην  
 οἶσοντα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων αἰώνιον, καὶ γέρας,  
 ὃ τι ἂν αὐταῖς λαβούσαις ἡδιστόν τε καὶ τιμιώτατον  
 3 ἔσσεσθαι μέλλῃ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα.<sup>2</sup> ταῖς  
 δὲ γυναιξὶ βουλευσαμέναις εἰσῆλθεν<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφθόνου μὲν  
 δωρεᾶς μηδεμιᾶς δεῖσθαι, ἀξιοῦν δ' ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι  
 τὴν βουλὴν Τύχης<sup>4</sup> γυναικῶν ιδρύσασθαι ἱερὸν ἐν  
 ᾧ τὰς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο λιτὰς χωρίῳ,  
 θυσίας τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος αὐτῇ συνιούσας ἐπι-  
 τελεῖν ἐν ᾗ τὸν πόλεμον ἔλυσαν ἡμέρᾳ. ἡ μέντοι  
 βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐψηφίσαντο  
 χρημάτων τέμενός τε ὠνηθὲν καθιερωθῆναι τῇ θεῷ,  
 καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶν καὶ βωμόν, ὥς ἂν οἱ ἱερο-  
 μνήμονες ἐξηγῶνται, συντελεσθῆναι, θυσίας τε

<sup>1</sup> ἔνεκα (or αὐτίκα or αὐτίκα μάλα) Cary; πάλαι O, πάλιν Sintenis, παλαιᾷ Jacoby; Kiessling proposed στήλης δημοσίας ἐπιγραφῇ.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα R (?) : om. B.

<sup>3</sup> εἰσῆλθε B : εἰσελθεῖν C, ἐδόκει A Cmg.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ before Τύχης deleted by Reiske.

<sup>1</sup> For chap. 55, 2-5 cf. Livy ii. 40, 11 f.

<sup>2</sup> From this point the clause is packed with difficulties. (1) πάλαι ("long ago"), the reading of the MSS., is almost certainly corrupt. ἔνεκα, while probably not really necessary here after the genitive, does at least give the construction normally found in laudatory decrees. On the other hand, we rather expect an adverb or adverbial phrase meaning "at once," and the early translators rendered πάλαι by

night, then, they passed in festivities and merry-making. The next day the senate, having been assembled by the consuls, resolved, in the case of Marcius, to postpone to a more suitable occasion such honours as were to be given to him, but as for the women,<sup>1</sup> that not only praise should be bestowed upon them for their zeal,<sup>2</sup> the same to be expressed by a public decree which should gain for them eternal remembrance on the part of future generations, but also a gift of honour, whatever to those receiving it would be most pleasing and most highly prized; and the people ratified this resolution. It occurred to the women after some deliberation to ask for no invidious gift, but to request of the senate permission to found a temple to Fortuna Muliebris on the spot where they had interceded for their country, and to assemble and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day on which they had put an end to the war. However, the senate and people decreed that from the public funds a precinct should be purchased and consecrated to the goddess, and a temple and altar erected upon it, in such manner as the pontiffs should direct, and that sacrifices should be performed

*quam primum*; either *αὐτίκα* or *αὐτίκα μάλα* would be quite in accord with Dionysius' usage. (2) The phrase *δημοσίᾳ γραφῇ* is suspicious. *γραφῇ* has generally been interpreted here as "inscription"; but Dionysius normally uses *ἐπιγραφῇ* when he means "inscription," and *γραφῇ* in the sense of "writing." If the text is correct, he probably means by a "public writing," a publicly displayed decree of the senate and people. (3) *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων*, in place of *εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους*, is a surprising construction, if *οἶσοντα* be taken in the sense of "carry," "transmit." But in this context it probably means "win" as a prize, "gain"; cf. vi. 68, 2, where remembrance on the part of future generations is also mentioned; also viii. 52, 3.



προσάγεσθαι δημοτελεῖς καταρχομένης τῶν ἱερῶν  
 γυναικός, ἣν ἂν ἀποδείξωσιν αὐταὶ<sup>1</sup> λειτουργὸν τῶν  
 4 ἱερῶν. ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἰέρεια μὲν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπεδείχθη τότε πρῶτον ἢ τὴν  
 γνώμην αὐταῖς εἰσηγησαμένη περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας  
 Οὐαλερία καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου πείσασα  
 συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐξόδου. θυσίαν δὲ πρῶτην  
 αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καταρχομένης  
 τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Οὐαλερίας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασκευασ-  
 θέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει βωμοῦ, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νεῶν καὶ  
 τὸ ξόανον ἀνασταθῆναι, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ τοῦ κατ-  
 όπιν ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῇ νέᾳ σελήνῃ, ἣν Ἕλληνες μὲν  
 νουμηνίαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καλάνδας καλοῦσιν· αὕτη  
 5 γὰρ ἦν ἡ λύσασα τὸν πόλεμον ἡμέρα. ἐνιαυτῷ δ'  
 ὕστερον δευτέρῳ<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τὴν πρῶτην θυσίαν ὁ κατα-  
 σκευασθεὶς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων νεὼς συν-  
 ετελέσθη τε καὶ καθιερώθη Κοῖντιλίου μηνὸς ἑβδόμη  
 μάλιστα κατὰ σελήνην· αὕτη δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους  
 ἐστὶν ἡ προηγούμενη τῶν Κοῖντιλίων νωνῶν ἡμέρα.  
 ὁ δὲ καθιερώσας αὐτὸν ἦν Πρόκλος Οὐεργίνιος  
 ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

LVI. Εἴη δ' ἂν ἀρμόττον ἱστορίας σχήματι καὶ  
 ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν οἰομένων μήτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 τιμαῖς ταῖς παρ' ἀνθρώπων χαίρειν τοὺς θεοὺς μήτ'  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ ἀδίκοις πράξεσιν ἀγανακτεῖν,  
 τὸ δηλῶσαι τὴν γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ  
 κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῖς,  
 ὥς αἱ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν περιέχουσι γραφαί, ἵνα τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : αὐται O.

<sup>2</sup> δευτέρῳ Kiessling : ἐτέρῳ O, Jacoby.



at the public expense, the initial ceremonies to be conducted by a woman, whichever one the women themselves should choose to officiate at the rites. The senate having passed this decree, the woman then chosen by the others to be priestess for the first time was Valeria, who had proposed to them the embassy and had persuaded the mother of Marcius to join the others in going out of the city. The first sacrifice was performed on behalf of the people by the women, Valeria beginning the rites, upon the altar raised in the sacred precinct, before the temple and the statue were erected, in the month of December of the following year, on the day of the new moon, which the Greeks call *noumēnia* and the Romans calends<sup>1</sup>; for this was the day which had put an end to the war. The year after the first sacrifice the temple built at public expense was finished and dedicated about the seventh day of the month Quintilis, reckoning by the course of the moon; this, according to the Romans' calendar, is the day before the nones of Quintilis.<sup>2</sup> The man who dedicated the temple was Proculus Verginius, one of the consuls.

LVI. It would be in harmony with a formal history and in the interest of correcting those who think that the gods are neither pleased with the honours they receive from men nor displeased with impious and unjust actions, to make known the epiphany of the goddess at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the books of the pontiffs, to the end that

day of the month, but the new moon fell on that day only so long as the calendar followed the lunar months.

<sup>2</sup> There is an error somewhere in this sentence, since the nones fell on the seventh day of the month Quintilis (later Iulius). Glareanus proposed to read "sixth" in place of "seventh" just above.

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μὲν εὐλαβεστέροις περὶ τὸ συνέχειν ἄς παρὰ τῶν  
 προγόνων δόξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρέλαβον  
 ἀμεταμέλητος ἢ τοιαύτη προαίρεσις καὶ βεβαία  
 διαμένη, τοῖς δ' ὑπερορῶσι τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν  
 καὶ μηθενὸς ποιοῦσι τὸ δαιμόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 λογισμῶν κύριον μάλιστα μὲν ἀναθέσθαι ταύτην  
 τὴν δόξαν,<sup>1</sup> εἰ δ' ἀνιάτως ἔχουσιν, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐ-  
 τοῖς<sup>2</sup> ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ κακοδαιμονεστέροις εἶναι.  
 2 ἱστορεῖται τοίνυν ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἐκ  
 τοῦ δημοσίου πάσας ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τὰς εἰς τὸν  
 νεῶν τε καὶ τὸ ξόανον δαπάνας, ἕτερον δ' ἄγαλμα  
 κατασκευασαμένων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀφ' ὧν αὐταὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 συνήνεγκαν χρημάτων, ἀνατεθέντων τε αὐτῶν  
 ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀνιερώσεως  
 ἡμέρᾳ, θάτερον τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων, ὃ κατεσκευά-  
 σαντο<sup>4</sup> αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐφθέγγατο πολλῶν παρουσῶν  
 γλώττῃ Λατίνῃ φωνὴν εὐσύνετόν τε καὶ γεγωνόν.  
 ἥς ἐστι φωνῆς ἐξερμηνευόμενος ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον τοιόσδε· “ Ὅσίῳ πόλεως νόμῳ,  
 3 γυναῖκες γαμεταί, δεδώκατέ με.” οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ  
 γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς παραδόξους φωνάς τε καὶ ὄψεις,  
 πολλὴ ταῖς παρούσαις ἐνέπιπτεν ἀπιστία, μή ποτ'  
 οὐ τὸ ξόανον εἶη τὸ φθεγξάμενον, ἀνθρωπίνη δέ τις  
 φωνή· μάλιστα δ' ὅσαι πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸν νοῦν  
 ἔχουσαι τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον, οὐκ ἰδοῦσαι τὸ φθεγγό-  
 μενον, ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν, ταύτην εἶχον τὴν πρὸς τὰς  
 ἰδούσας ἀπιστίαν. ἔπειτ' αὖθις πληθύνοντος τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Unless we assume an anacoluthon, a subjunctive is required in this clause corresponding to διαμένη just above. Reiske supplied ἦ, Kiessling περιῆ, after ἀναθέσθαι. Capps would add δοκῇ after δόξαν.

by those who are more scrupulous about preserving the opinions concerning the gods which they have received from their ancestors such belief may be maintained firm and undisturbed by misgivings, and that those who, despising the customs of their forefathers, hold that the gods have no power over man's reason, may, preferably, retract their opinion, or, if they are incurable, that they may become still more odious to the gods and more wretched. It is related, then, that when the senate had ordered that the whole expense both of the temple and of the statue should be defrayed from the public treasury, and the women had caused another statue to be made with the money they themselves had contributed, and both statues had been set up together on the first day of the dedication of the temple, one of them, the one which the women had provided, uttered some words in Latin in a voice both distinct and loud, when many were present. The meaning of the words when translated is as follows : " You have conformed to the holy law of the city, matrons, in dedicating me." <sup>1</sup> The women who were present were very incredulous, as usually happens in the case of unusual voices and sights, believing that it was not the statue that had spoken, but some human voice ; and those particularly who happened at the moment to have their mind on something else and did not see what it was that spoke, showed this incredulity toward those who had seen it. Later, on a second occasion, when the

<sup>1</sup> According to Valerius Maximus (i. 8, 4) the words uttered were : *Rite me, matronae, dedistis riteque dedicastis.*

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς O : αὐ τοῖς θεοῖς Post.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : αὐται O.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling : κατεσκεύασαν O.

νεὼ καὶ σιωπῆς πλείστης κατὰ δαίμονα γενομένης  
 ἐν μείζονι φωνῇ ταὐτὸ ξόανον ἐφθέγγετο τὴν αὐτὴν  
 4 λέξιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι εἶναι τὸ ἀμφίλογον. ἡ μὲν  
 οὖν βουλὴ ὡς ταύτ' ἔμαθεν ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας  
 ἄλλας καὶ σεβασμούς, οὓς ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγη-  
 ταὶ παραδῶσι, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ  
 δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν ἔθει κατεστήσαντο, τῇ τῆς ἱερείας  
 χρησάμεναι γνώμῃ, τῷ ξοάνῳ τούτῳ μήτε στεφά-  
 νους ἐπιτιθέναι<sup>1</sup> μήτε χεῖρας προσφέρειν γυναῖκας  
 ὅσαι δευτέρων ἐπειράθησαν γάμων, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν  
 καὶ θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποδεδόσθαι ταῖς νεο-  
 γάμοις. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὔτε παρελθεῖν τὴν  
 ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν καλῶς εἶχεν οὔτε πλείονα περὶ  
 αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. ἐπάνειμι δ' ὅθεν εἰς  
 τοῦτον ἐξέβην τὸν λόγον.

LVII. Μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν  
 γυναικῶν ὁ Μάρκιος περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀναστήσας  
 τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 ἐν τῇ Οὐολούσκων ἐγένετο, πάντα ὅσα ἐκ τῶν  
 λαφύρων ἔλαβε δωρησάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις,  
 ἑαυτῷ δ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπολιπόμενος<sup>2</sup> ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ  
 τὰ οἰκεία. ἡ μὲν οὖν κοινωνήσασα τῶν ἀγώνων  
 αὐτῷ στρατιὰ πλούτῳ βαρεῖ<sup>3</sup> ἀφικομένη τὴν τε  
 ἀνάπαυλαν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐδέξατο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δι'  
 εὐνοίας εἶχε τὸν ἄνδρα, συγγνώμης τε ἄξιον ἡγείτο,  
 εἰ μὴ τέλος ἐπέθηκε τῷ πολέμῳ μητρὸς οἴκτους  
 2 καὶ λιτὰς ἐντραπεῖς. ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπο-  
 μείνας νεότης φθονοῦσα μὲν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου  
 γενομένοις τῶν πολλῶν ὠφελειῶν, διημαρτηκυῖα δ'  
 ὦν ἥλπισεν εἰ καθαιρεθείη τὸ Ῥωμαίων φρόνημα

<sup>1</sup> Hudson : ἐπιτεθῆναι O.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : ὑπολειπόμενος O.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby : βαρεῖ O, but one letter deleted in B after ι.

temple was full and there chanced to be a profound silence, the same statue pronounced the same words in a louder voice, so that there was no longer any doubt about it. The senate, upon hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices and rites to be performed every year, such as the interpreters of religious rites should direct. And the women upon the advice of their priestess established it as a custom that no women who had been married a second time should crown this statue with garlands or touch it with their hands, but that all the honour and worship paid to it should be committed to the newly-married women. But concerning these matters it was fitting that I should neither omit the native account nor dwell too long upon it. I now return to the point from which I digressed.

LVII. After the departure of the women from the camp <sup>1</sup> Marcius roused his army about daybreak and led it away as through a friendly country ; and when he came into the territory of the Volscians, he divided among the soldiers all the booty he had taken, without reserving the least thing for himself, and then dismissed them to their homes. The army, accordingly, which had shared in the battles with him, returning loaded with riches, was not displeased with the respite from war and felt well disposed toward him and thought he deserved to be forgiven for not having brought the war to a successful end out of regard for the lamentations and entreaties of his mother. But the young men who had remained at home, envying those who had seen active service the great booty they had won, and being disappointed in their hopes of seeing the pride of the Romans humbled by

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 57-59 *cf.* Livy ii. 40, 10 f.

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τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης, ἐτραχύνετο πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πικρὰ σφόδρα ἦν· καὶ τελευτῶσα, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μίσους ἡγεμόνας ἔλαβε τοὺς πλείστον ἐν τῷ ἔθνει δυναμένους, ἐξηγριώθη τε καὶ ἔργον ἔδρασεν ἀν-  
 3 όσιον. ἦν δὲ Τύλλος Ἀττιος ὁ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν παραθήξας ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρίαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οὐκ ὀλίγην. τούτῳ δ' ἄρα ἐδέδοκτο παλαι-  
 τερον ἔτι τὸν φθόνον οὐ δυναμένῳ κατέχειν, εἰ μὲν εὖ πράξας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν διαφθείρας εἰς Οὐολούσκους<sup>1</sup> ἔλθοι, κρύφα καὶ σὺν δόλῳ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτῶν τῆς πείρας ἀτελῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἀναστρέψειεν, ὥς προδότην παρα-  
 4 δόντα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρίᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι· ὅπερ ἐποίει τότε, καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην κατηγόρει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ψευδῇ τεκμαιρόμενος ἀλη-  
 θέσι καὶ οὐ γενησόμενα εἰκάζων γεγενημένοις<sup>2</sup>. ἐκέλευέ τε ἀποθέμενον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς στρατηγίας. ἦν δὲ τῆς ὑπομενουσῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡγεμών,<sup>3</sup> ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηταί μοι, κύριος τοῦ τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοῦ καλεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο ἐπὶ δίκην.

LVIII. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐδικαίου, περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν διεφέρετο λόγον ἀξιῶν ἀποδοῦναι πρότερον τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειτα, εἰάν ἅπανι δόξῃ Οὐολούσκοις, ἀποθήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτων δ' οὐ μίαν ᾤετο πόλιν δεῖν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου διέφθαρτο μέρος, γενέ-

<sup>1</sup> διαφθείρας εἰς οὐολούσκους B : διαφθείρας εἰς οὐολούσκους ὑποτάξας R.

<sup>2</sup> γεγενημένοις (or γενομένοις) Steph.<sup>2</sup> : γενησομένοις O.

<sup>3</sup> ἡγεμών B : om. R.



the capture of their city, were incensed against the general and very bitter ; and at last, when they found as leaders of their hatred the men of the greatest power in the nation, they grew wild with rage and committed an impious deed. The one who in particular whetted their anger against Marcius was Tullus Attius, who had about him a large faction collected out of every city. This man had, in fact, long since resolved, being unable to control his jealousy, that if Marcius succeeded and returned to the Volscians after destroying Rome, he would make away with him secretly and by guile, or if, failing in his attempt, he came back leaving the task unfinished, he would deliver him over to his faction as a traitor and have him put to death—a plan which he now proceeded to carry out. And getting together a considerable band, he brought charges against him, drawing false inferences from things that were true and, from what had happened, surmising things that were not going to happen ; and he kept bidding him resign his command and give an account of his conduct. For, as I said before,<sup>1</sup> Tullus was general of the forces which had been left in the cities, and had authority both to call an assembly and to summon to trial any man he pleased.

LVIII. Marcius did not think proper to oppose either of these demands, but objected to their order, insisting that he ought first to give an account of his conduct in the war, after which he would resign his command if all the Volscians should so decide. But he thought that no single city in which the greater part of the citizens had been corrupted by Tullus

<sup>1</sup> In chap. 13.



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σθαι κυρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἅπαν εἰς τὴν ἔννομον ἀγορὰν συναχθέν, εἰς ἣν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὅτε περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευέσθαι μέλλοιεν, ἐξ ἀπάσης <sup>2</sup> πόλεως προβούλους ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἀνὴρ<sup>1</sup> πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων λόγον ἀποδιδούς ἐν ἡγεμονικῷ ἀξιώματι μένων πείσει τὸ πλήθος, καὶ τοσούτου δεήσει τιμωρίαν προδοτῶν ὑποσχεῖν ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερος ἔτι καὶ τιμιώτερος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔσται, τὸν τε πόλεμον ὅπως ἂν βούληται καταλύσασθαι συγχωρησάντων ἀπάντων γενήσεται <sup>3</sup> κύριος. καὶ ἦν μέχρι πολλοῦ λόγων τε καὶ ἀντιμαχήσεων τῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις γινομένων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πολὺς ἀγών· ἔργῳ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν οὐδετέρῳ βιάσασθαι τὸν ἕτερον τῆς ἰσοτίμου ἀρχῆς <sup>4</sup> ἀξιώσει κρατυνόμενον. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐγένετο πέρας, ἡμέραν προειπὼν ὁ Τύλλος ἐν ἣ τὸν Μάρκιον ἐκέλευσεν ἦκειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθησόμενον καὶ δίκην ὑφέξοντα τῆς προδοσίας, θρασυτάτους τε ἄνδρας εὐεργεσιῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἀρχηγοὺς ἀνοσίου ἔργου γενέσθαι, παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ προελθὼν<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλῇ κατηγορίᾳ ἐχρήσατο τοῦ Μαρκίου, καί, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν, τῷ δήμῳ παρεκελεύετο παύειν<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει.

LIX. Ἀναβάντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν βοή τε πολλὴ κωλύουσα τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρίας τῆς περὶ τὸν Τύλλον ἐγένετο· καὶ μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνὴρ Kiessling, ὁ ἀνὴρ Christian : ἀνὴρ O.

<sup>2</sup> προελθὼν O : παρελθὼν Sylburg, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : παύσειν O.

ought to be given sole authority in the matter, but rather the whole nation meeting in their lawful assembly, to which it was the custom for them to send deputies from every city when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greatest importance. This Tullus opposed, well knowing that Marcius, eloquent as he was, when he came to give an account of the many splendid actions he had performed, if he still retained a general's prestige, would persuade the multitude, and would be so far from suffering the punishment of a traitor that he would actually become still more illustrious and be more highly honoured by them, and would be authorized by general consent to put an end to the war in such manner as he pleased. And for a long time there was great strife as they daily engaged in arguing and wrangling with one another in the assemblies and the forum ; for it was not possible for either of them to employ force against the other, since both were protected by the prestige of an equal command. But when there was no end to their contention, Tullus appointed a day on which he commanded Marcius to appear for the purpose of laying down his office and standing trial for treason ; and having encouraged some of the most daring, by hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in an impious deed, he appeared at the assembly on the day appointed, and coming forward to the tribunal, inveighed at length against Marcius and exhorted the people to use all the force at their command to depose him if he would not voluntarily resign his power.

LIX. When Marcius had ascended the tribunal in order to make his defence, a great clamour arose from the faction of Tullus, hindering him from speaking ;

ταῦτα “ Παῖε ” καὶ “ Βάλλε ” φωνοῦντες περι-  
 ιστανται αὐτὸν οἱ θρασύτατοι καὶ συναράττοντες  
 τοῖς λίθοις ἀποκτινύουσιν. ἐρριμμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ  
 χαμαὶ<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ τε παραγενόμενοι τῷ  
 πάθει καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη νεκροῦ ὄντος ἀφικόμε-  
 νοι τὸν τε ἄνδρα τῆς τύχης ὠδύροντο ὥς οὐ καλὰς  
 εἰληφότα παρὰ σφῶν ἀμοιβάς, ἐπιλεγόμενοι πάντα  
 ὅσα τὸ κοινὸν ὠφέλησε, καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας τὸν  
 φόνον ἐπόθουν λαβεῖν ὥς ἀνόμου ἔργου καὶ ἀσυμ-  
 φόρου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξαντας, ἄνευ δίκης ἐν χειρῶν  
 2 νόμῳ τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμόνα. μάλιστα  
 δ’ ἡγανάκτουν οἱ ταῖς στρατείαις αὐτοῦ παραγενό-  
 μενοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ζῶντι αὐτῷ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐγένοντο  
 κωλυταὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, τὰς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον  
 ὀφειλομένας ἔγνωσαν ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας, συμ-  
 φέροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅσων ἔδει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς  
 3 ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τιμὴν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα  
 εὐτρέπιστο, θέντες ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἐκπρεπεστάτῳ<sup>2</sup>  
 ἡσκημένης κόσμῳ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἔχοντα  
 ἐσθῆτα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι  
 κελεύσαντες λάφυρά τε καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους  
 καὶ μνήμας ὧν εἶλε πόλεων, ἤραντο τὴν κλίνην οἱ  
 λαμπρότατοι τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πολέμους  
 ἔργοις· καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον ὃ μάλισ-  
 τα ἦν ἐπιφανές, ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεσκευασμένην  
 πυράν, συμπροπεμπούσης τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως  
 4 ὅλης μετ’ οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ δακρύων. ἔπειτα κατα-  
 σφάζαντες τ’ αὐτῷ πολλὰ<sup>3</sup> βοσκήματα καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀπαρξάμενοι πάντων ὅσων ἄνθρωποι βασι-  
 λεῦσιν ἢ στρατιᾷς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ πυραῖς ἀπάρχον-  
 ται, παρέμειναν οἱ μάλιστα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀσπαζόμενοι

<sup>1</sup> χαμαὶ B : om. R.<sup>2</sup> Steph. : ἐκπρεπεστάτης ABC.

then, with cries of "Hit him," "Stone him," the most daring surrounded him and stoned him to death. While he lay where he had been hurled upon the ground in the forum, both those who had been present at the tragedy and those who came there after he was dead bewailed the misfortune of the man who had found so ill a return from them, recounting all the services he had rendered to their state, and they longed to apprehend the murderers for having set the example of a deed that was lawless and prejudicial to their cities, in killing a man, and him a general, by an act of violence without a trial. But most indignant were the men who had taken part in his campaigns ; and since they had been unable, while he was living, to prevent his misfortune, they resolved to show fitting gratitude after his death by bringing into the forum everything that was necessary for the honour owed to brave men. When all was ready, they laid him, dressed in the garb of a supreme commander, on a couch adorned in a most sumptuous manner, and ordered the booty, the spoils and the crowns, together with the representations of the cities he had taken, to be carried before his bier ; and the young men who were the most distinguished for their military achievements took up the bier, and carrying it to the most conspicuous suburb, placed it on the funeral pile that had been prepared, the whole population of the city accompanying the body with lamentations and tears. Then, when they had slain a large number of victims in his honour and offered up all the first-offerings that people make at the funeral piles of kings and commanders of armies, those who had been most closely attached to him

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<sup>3</sup> πολλά B : om. R.

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μέχρι τοῦ μαρανθῆναι τὴν φλόγα, καῖπειτα συναγόντες τὰ λείψανα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ χώματι ὑψηλῷ διὰ πολυχειρίας χωσθέντι<sup>1</sup> μνήμα ἐπίσημον ἐργασάμενοι.

LX. Μάρκιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχεν, ἀνὴρ καὶ<sup>2</sup> τὰ πολέμια ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἡδονὰς ὅσαι ἄρχουσι νέων ἐγκρατῆς, τά τε δίκαια οὐκ ἀπὸ νόμου μᾶλλον ἀνάγκης διὰ τιμωριῶν δέος ἀκούσιος ἀποδιδούς, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν τε καὶ πεφυκῶς πρὸς αὐτὰ εὖ, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν ἀρετῆς μοίρᾳ τὸ μὴθὲν ἀδικεῖν τιθέμενος, οὐ μόνον τε αὐτὸς ἀγνεύειν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας προθυμούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζειν <sup>2</sup>δικαιῶν· μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ δωρηματικὸς καὶ εἰς ἐπαγόρθωσιν ὧν ἐκάστω δέοι τῶν φίλων, ὅποτε γνοίῃ, προχειρότατος, τά τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς χείρων τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ στασιάζον τῆς πόλεως ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολитеύμασιν ἐγένετο, μεγίστην ἂν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου πολιτευμάτων ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν δυνατῷ ἦν ἅμα<sup>3</sup> ἀπάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι φύσει, οὐδὲ φύsetαί τις ἀπὸ θνητῶν καὶ ἐπικήρων σπερμάτων περὶ πάντα ἀγαθός.

LXI. Ἐκείνῳ γε οὖν ταύτας ὁ δαίμων τὰς ἀρετὰς χαρισάμενος ἐτέρας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς κῆράς τε καὶ ἄτας προσῆψε. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶν<sup>4</sup> καὶ φαιδρὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρόποις, οὐδὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν πέλας ἐν τε ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ προσαγορεύσεσιν,<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲ

<sup>1</sup> χωσθέντι Cary : ἐργασθέντι O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> ἅμα Kiessling : ἅρα O.

remained there till the flames died down, after which they gathered together his remains and buried them in that very place, constructing an imposing monument by heaping up a high mound with the assistance of many hands.

LX. Such was the end of Marcius, who was not only the greatest general of his age, but was superior to all the pleasures that dominate young men, and practised justice, not so much through compulsion of the law with its threat of punishment and against his will, but voluntarily and from a natural propensity to it. He did not regard it as a virtue to do no injustice, and not only was eager to abstain from all vice himself, but thought it his duty to compel others to do so too. He was both high-minded and open-handed and most ready to relieve the wants of his friends as soon as he was informed of them. In his talent for public affairs he was inferior to none of the aristocratic party, and if the seditious element of the city had not hindered his measures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greatest accession of power from those measures. But it was impossible that all the virtues should be found together in a human being's nature, nor will anyone ever be created by Nature from mortal and perishable seed who is good in all respects.

LXI. In any case the divinity who bestowed these virtues upon him added to them unfortunate blemishes and fatal flaws. For there was no mildness or cheerfulness in his character, no affability in greeting and addressing people that would win those whom he

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<sup>4</sup> *πρὸν* O : *πρῶτον* Cobet.

<sup>5</sup> Kiessling : *ἐπὶν* O, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> *προσαγορεύσειν* A : *προσαγορεύσει* R.



δὴ τὸ εὐδιάλλακτον καὶ μετριοπαθές, ὅποτε δι' ὀργῆς τῷ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἢ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπικοσμοῦσα χάρις· ἀλλ' αἰὲ πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς  
 2 ἦν. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἔβλαψε, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἢ περὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων ἄκρατός τε καὶ ἀπαράπειστος καὶ οὐθὲν τῷ ἐπιεικεῖ διδοῦσα ἀποτομία· ἔοικέ τε ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσόφων, ὅτι μεσότητές εἰσιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκρότητες αἱ τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δ' ἢ δικαιοσύνη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐλλείπουσα τοῦ μετρίου πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα, αὐτοῖς τε οὐ λυσιτελής, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε αἰτία μεγάλων συμφορῶν, καὶ εἰς θανάτους οἰκτροὺς καὶ λύμας ἀνηκέστους καταστρέφουσα.  
 3 Μάρκιόν γε<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἄρα ὃ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξήλασε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἄκρον δίκαιον. τοῖς τε γὰρ δημόταις εἴκειν τὰ μέτρια δέον καὶ ἐφίεναι τι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ μὴ δίκαια ἀντιλέγων μῖσος ἤγειρε καὶ ἐξηλάθη πρὸς αὐτῶν· τῆς τε Οὐολούσκων στρατηγίας εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαλλαγῆναι παρὸν καὶ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐτέρωσέ ποι, ἕως<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἡ κάθοδος αὐτῷ δοθῇ<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς καὶ ὄχλων ἀμαθίαις σκοπόν, οὐκ ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεύθυνον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ σῶμα

<sup>1</sup> πολλοῖς B : πολλοῖς πολέμοις AC.

<sup>2</sup> γε B : δὲ R.

<sup>3</sup> ἕως R : τέως Ba (?), Cod. Peirescianus, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> δοθῇ Cod. Peiresc., Kiessling : δοθείη O.



met, nor yet any disposition to conciliate or placate others when he was angry with them, nor that charm which adorns all human actions ; but he was always harsh and severe. And it was not alone these qualities that hurt him in the minds of many, but, most of all, his immoderate and inexorable sternness in the matter of justice and the observance of the laws, and a strictness which would make no concessions to reasonableness. Indeed, the dictum of the ancient philosophers seems to be true, that the moral virtues are means and not extremes,<sup>1</sup> particularly in the case of justice.<sup>2</sup> For by its nature it not only may fall short of the mean, but also may go beyond it, and is not profitable to its possessors, but is sometimes the cause of great calamities and leads to miserable deaths and irreparable disasters. In the case of Marcius, at any rate, it was nothing else but his passion for exact and extreme justice that drove him from his country and deprived him of the enjoyment of all his other blessings. For when he ought to have made reasonable concessions to the plebeians, and by yielding somewhat to their desires to have gained the foremost place among them, he would not do so, but by opposing them in everything that was not just he incurred their hatred and was banished by them. And when it was in his power to resign the command of the Volscian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove his habitation to some other place till his country had granted him leave to return, instead of offering himself as a target for the plotting of his enemies and the folly of the masses, he did not think fit to do so ; but regarding it as his duty to put his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 1106 b 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1133 b 32.

παρασχεῖν τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λόγον ἀποδοὺς ὧν ἔπραξε κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἴ τι φαίνοιτο ἀδικῶν, τὴν κατὰ νόμους ὑποσχεῖν δίκην, τῆς ἄκρας δικαιοσύνης οὐ καλοὺς ἀπέλαβε μισθοὺς.

LXII. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι διαλυομένοις καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅτιδήποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκείνο, συνδιδύεται, καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐθὲν ἔτι ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μακαρίους ὑπολάβω τοὺς μὴθὲν μὲν ἀπολαύσαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθόν, δι' αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην ἀπολομένους. εἰ δ' ἄφθαρτοι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἱ ψυχαὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἡμῶν οὔσαι, καθάπερ οἴονται τινες, ἢ χρόνον τινὰ<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδιαμένουσι,<sup>2</sup> μήκιστον μὲν αἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐλάχιστον δ' αἱ τῶν κακῶν, ἀποχρῶσα τιμὴ φαίνοιτ' ἄν, οἷς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦσιν ἡναντιώθη τὰ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἢ παρὰ τῶν ζώντων εὐλογία καὶ μνήμη μέχρι πλείστου παραμείνασα χρόνου· ὃ καὶ τῷ  
 2 ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ συνέβη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Οὐλολοῦσκοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπένθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὥς τῶν ἀρίστων γενόμενον ἐν τιμῇ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πάθος ἐγνώσθη, μεγάλην συμφορὰν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, πένθος ἐποιήσαντο ἰδία καὶ δημοσία· καὶ αἱ<sup>3</sup> γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ἃ νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαίοις ποιεῖν κήδεσιν, ἀποθέμεναι χρυσόν τε καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον μέλασιν ἀμφιεσμοῖς  
 3 χρώμεναι τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον. ἐτῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ὁμοῦ τι πεντακοσίων ἤδη διαγεγονότων εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον οὐ γέγονεν ἐξίτηλος

<sup>1</sup> τινὰ placed here by Sylburg : after ἀπαλλαγὴν by O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιδιαμένουσι Cobet, ἔτι διαμένουσι Sintenis, Jacoby : ἐνδιαμένουσι O.

<sup>3</sup> αἱ added by Reiske.

person at the disposal of those who had entrusted him with the command and after giving an account of his conduct during his generalship, if he were found guilty of any misconduct, to undergo the punishment ordained by the laws, he received a sorry reward for his extreme justice.

LXII. Now if when the body perishes the soul also, whatever that is, perishes together with it and no longer exists anywhere, I do not see how I can conceive those to be happy who have received no advantage from their virtue but, on the contrary, have been undone by this very quality. Whereas, if our souls are perchance forever imperishable, as some think, or if they continue on for a time after their separation from the body, those of good men for a very long time and those of the wicked for a very short period, a sufficient reward for those who, though they have practised virtue, have suffered the enmity of Fortune, would seem to be the praise of the living and the continuance of their memory for the longest period of time. And that was the case with this man. For not only the Volscians mourned his death and still hold him in honour as having proved himself one of the best of men, but the Romans also, when they were informed of his fate, looked upon it as a great calamity to the commonwealth and mourned for him both in private and in public; and their wives, as it is their custom to do at the loss of those who are nearest and dearest to them, laid aside their gold and purple and all their other adornment, and dressing themselves in black, mourned for him for the full period of a year. And though nearly five hundred years have already elapsed since his death down to the present time, his memory has not be-

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμη, ἀλλ' ἄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ κατασχὼν Ῥωμαίους κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείας Μάρκιον λαβούσης ἡγεμόνα, μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχὼν τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀνελεῖν ἐκ βάθρων, τοιούτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

LXIII. Ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον Ῥωμαῖοι πολλῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ προελθόντες ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς σφετέρας κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσίν, ἴδιον ἐκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοτάτοις καταστησαμένου.<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴν ἔδρασαν γε οὐδὲν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἀνέστρεψαν ἄπρακτοι, καίτοι καλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων δρᾶσαί τι γενναῖον. <sup>2</sup>πρότεροι γὰρ ἔτι τούτων Οὐολοῦσκοί τε καὶ Αἰκανοὶ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἤγαγον γνώμην ποιησάμενοι μὴ ἀνεῖναι τὸν καιρόν, ἀλλ', ἕως ἔτι καταπεπληῆχθαι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐδόκουν, χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτό, ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιον διὰ δέος παραστησόμενον. στασιάσαντες δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ὄπλα ἤρπασαν καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, οὔτε κατὰ τάξιν οὔτε ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ ἀναμίξ, ὥστε πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι φόνον· καὶ εἰ μὴ δὺς ὁ ἥλιος ἔφθασεν, ἅπασαι ἂν αὐτῶν αἱ δυνάμεις διεφθάρησαν. τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ λυούσῃ τὸ νεῖκος ἀκούσιοι εἷξαντες διεκρίθη-

<sup>1</sup> καταστησαμένου added by Kiessling. Reiske added ἔχοντος before ἴδιον.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν οὔτε μείζον οὔτε ἔλαττον Sylburg : οὐδὲν μείζον AC, μείζον οὐδὲν B.

come extinct, but he is still praised and celebrated by all as a pious and just man.

Thus ended the danger with which the Romans had been threatened by the expedition of the Volscians and Aequians under the command of Marcius, a danger that was greater than any to which they had ever been exposed before and came very near destroying the whole commonwealth from its foundations.

LXIII. A few days later<sup>1</sup> the Romans took the field with a large army commanded by both consuls, and advancing to the confines of their own territory, encamped on two hills, each of the consuls placing his camp in the strongest position. Nevertheless, they accomplished nothing, either great or little, but returned unsuccessful, though excellent opportunities had been afforded them by the enemy for performing some gallant action. It seems that even before their expedition the Volscians and the Aequians had led an army against the Roman territory, having resolved not to let the opportunity slip, but to attack their adversaries while they seemed to be still panic-stricken; for they thought that in their fear they would surrender of their own accord. But quarrelling among themselves over the command, they rushed to arms, and falling upon one another, fought without keeping their ranks or receiving orders, but in confusion and disorder, so that many were killed on both sides; and if the sun had not set in time to prevent it, all their forces would have been utterly destroyed. But yielding reluctantly to the night which put an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 40, 12 f.

σάν τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους χάρακας  
 ἀπηλλάγησαν· ἔωθεν δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις  
 3 ἀπῆεσαν ἐκάτεροι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι  
 παρά τε αὐτομόλων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων, οἱ παρ' αὐτὸ  
 τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδρασαν, ἀκούσαντες οἷα κατέσχε  
 λύσσα καὶ θεοβλάβεια τὰ πολέμια, οὔτε συνεπ-  
 έθεντο τῷ κατ' εὐχὴν δοθέντι καιρῷ τριάκοντα  
 σταδίων οὐ πλεῖον ἀπέχοντες, οὔτε ἀπιόντας ἐδίω-  
 ξαν, ἐν ᾧ κεκμηκότας καὶ τραυματίας καὶ ὀλίγους  
 ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἀτάκτους χωροῦντας ἀκραιφνεῖς  
 αὐτοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι ῥαδίως ἂν διέφθειραν  
 4 πασσυδί. λύσαντες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς χάρακας  
 ἀπῆεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἴτε ἀρκούμενοι τῷ παρὰ  
 τῆς τύχης δοθέντι ἀγαθῷ, εἴτε οὐ πιστεύοντες  
 ἀνασκήτῳ στρατιᾷ τῇ σφετέρᾳ, εἴτε περὶ πολλοῦ  
 ποιούμενοι τὸ μῆδ' ὀλίγους τῶν σφετέρων ἀπο-  
 βαλεῖν. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ  
 πολλῇ ἦσαν δειλίας δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φερόμενοι·  
 καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔξοδον ἔτι ποιησάμενοι παρέδοσαν  
 τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπάτοις τὴν ἀρχήν.

LXIV. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος μὲν Ἀκύλλιος  
 καὶ Τίτος Σίκκιος, ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων, τὴν  
 ὑπατείαν παρειλήφεσαν. ἡ δὲ βουλή προθέντων  
 λόγον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ὑπάτων πρῶτον  
 ἐψηφίσατο πρεσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς Ἑρνικας αἰτή-  
 σουσαν ὥς παρὰ φίλων τε καὶ ἐνσπόνδων δίκας  
 νομίμους· ἡδίκητο γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείαν ληστεί-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.



end to the quarrel, they separated and retired to their own camps ; and rousing their forces at dawn, both sides returned home. The consuls, though they learned both from deserters and from prisoners who had escaped during the action itself what fury and madness had possessed the enemy, neither embraced an opportunity so desirable when it offered, though they were no more than thirty stades distant, nor pursued them in their retreat—a situation in which their own troops, being fresh and following in good order, might easily have destroyed to a man those of the enemy, who were fatigued, wounded, reduced from a large to a small number, and were retiring in disorder. But they too broke camp and returned to Rome, either being contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops, who were undisciplined, or considering it very important not to lose even a few of their own men. When they got back to Rome, however, they found themselves in great disgrace and had to bear the stigma of cowardice for their behaviour. And without undertaking any other expedition they surrendered their magistracy to their successors.

LXIV. The next year Gaius Aquilius and Titus Siccus,<sup>1</sup> men experienced in war, succeeded to the consulship. The senate, when the consuls had brought up the war for consideration, voted, first, to send an embassy to the Hernicans to demand, as from friends and allies, the customary satisfaction ; for the commonwealth had suffered wrongs at their hands at the time of the attack of the Volscians and Aequians through brigandage and incursions into the part of

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 64-67 *cf.* Livy ii. 40. 14. Our MSS. of Livy give the name as T. Sicinius, but Cassiodorus read Siccus.



αἰς τε καὶ καταδρομαῖς τῆς ὁμορούσης αὐτοῖς  
 γῆς· ἕως δ' ἂν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσιν ἀποκρί-  
 σεις, στρατιὰν ὅσῃν δύνανται πλείστην καταγράφειν  
 τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πρεσβειῶν  
 ἀποστολαῖς παρακαλεῖν σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅπλα καὶ  
 χρήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ  
 2 πολυχειρίας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἐν τάχει. ὥς δ'  
 ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέψαντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἅς  
 παρὰ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, ὅτι συν-  
 θήκας μὲν οὐ φασιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 κοινῇ γενομένης οὐδέποτε, τὰς δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα  
 Ταρκύνιον ὁμολογίας αἰτιῶνται λελύσθαι τὴν τε  
 ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ξένης· εἰ δέ τινες ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς  
 χώρας ἐγένοντο διὰ ληστηρίων, οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς  
 γνώμης γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδιωτῶν ἀδική-  
 ματα μετιόντων τὰ ἴδια, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ταῦτα  
 δράσαντας παρέχειν οἰοί τ' εἶσιν ἐπὶ δίκην, ἕτερα  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι λέγοντες καὶ ἀντεγ-  
 καλοῦντες, ἄσμενοί τε δέχονται<sup>1</sup> τὸν πόλεμον—  
 3 ταῦτα ἢ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο νείμασθαι τὴν  
 καταγραφείσαν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων στρατιὰν τριχῇ·  
 τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἄγοντα Γάιον Ἀκύλλιον  
 τὸν ὑπατον ὁμόσε τῇ Ἑρνίκων στρατιᾷ χωρεῖν (καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἤδη ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις), τὴν δ' ἑτέραν  
 Τίτον Σίκκιον ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους ἄγειν, τὸν ἕτερον  
 τῶν ὑπάτων, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τρίτην μερίδα παρα-  
 λαβόντα Σπόριον Λάρκιον, ὃς ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἑπαρχος τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως

<sup>1</sup> δέχονται Cary, ἐκδέχεσθαι Post : εἰσι δέχεσθαι O, Jacoby.

the Roman territory that bordered on their own ; and they voted further that while waiting to receive their answer the consuls should enrol all the forces they could, summon the allies by sending out embassies, and get ready corn, arms, money, and all the other things necessary for the war, by employing a large number of men and using haste. When the ambassadors returned from the Hernicans, they reported to the senate the answer they had received from them, to the following effect : They denied that there had ever been a treaty between them and the Romans by act of the public, and they charged that the compact they had made with King Tarquinius had been dissolved both by his expulsion from power and by his death in a foreign land ; but if any depredations had been committed or incursions made into the territory of the Romans by bands of robbers, they said these had not been made by the general consent of their nation, but were the misdeeds of individuals pursuing their private ends, and that they were unable to deliver up to justice even the men who had done these things, since they claimed that they themselves had also suffered similar wrongs and had the same complaints to make ; and they said that they cheerfully accepted the war. The senate, upon hearing this, voted that the youth already enrolled should be divided into three bodies, and that with one of these the consul Gaius Aquilius should march against the army of the Hernicans (for these were already in arms), that Titus Siccus, the other consul, should lead the second against the Volscians, and that Spurius Larcius, who had been appointed prefect of the city by the consuls, should with the remaining third part defend the portion of the country that lay

χώραν φυλάττειν· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, ὅσοι δύναμιν εἶχον ἔτι βαστάζειν ὄπλα, ταχθέντας ὑπὸ σημείαις τάς τε ἄκρας φρουρεῖν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, μή τις αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων γένηται ἔφοδος ἐξεστρατευμένης τῆς νεότητος ἀθρόας· ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Αὐλὸν Σεμπρώνιον Ἀτρατῖνον, ἄνδρα τῶν ὑπατικῶν. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐ διὰ μακροῦ.

LXV. Ἀκύλλιος μὲν οὖν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῇ Πραίνεστίνων χώρα τὸν Ἑρνίκων στρατὸν ὑπομένοντα καταλαβὼν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὥς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἀγχοτάτῳ σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσχὼν ὀλίγῳ πλείους διακοσίων· τρίτῃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἡμέρα προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐν τάξει καὶ τὰ σημεία ἀράντων τῆς μάχης, ἀντεξῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ κατὰ τέλη. <sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἀλλήλων ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ψιλοὶ σαυνίων τε βολαῖς καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀπὸ σφενδόνης μαχόμενοι, καὶ<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ τραύματα ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα ἰππεῖς ἰππεῦσι συρράπτουσι κατ' ἴλας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τῷ πεζῷ κατὰ σπείρας μαχόμενον. ἔνθα δὴ καλὸς ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκθύμῳς ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον οὐδέτεροι τοῖς ἐτέροις τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθησαν εἶκοντες. ἔπειτα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡρξάτο κάμνειν φάλαγξ, οἷα διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνου τότε πρῶτον ἠναγκασμένη ὁμι- <sup>3</sup> λεῖν πολέμῳ. τοῦτο συνιδὼν Ἀκύλλιος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀκμῆτας ἔτι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλαττο-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ placed before πρῶτον (one line above) by Sylburg.

nearest to the city ; that those who were above the military age but were still capable of bearing arms should be arrayed under their standards and guard the citadels of the city and the walls, to prevent any sudden attack by the enemy while all the youth were in the field, and that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, one of the ex-consuls, should have the command of this force. These orders were presently carried out.

LXV. Aquilius, one of the consuls, finding the army of the Hernicans waiting for him in the country of the Praenestines, encamped as near to them as he could, at a distance of a little more than two hundred stades from Rome. The second<sup>1</sup> day after he had pitched his camp the Hernicans came out of their camp into the plain in order of battle and gave the signal for combat ; whereupon Aquilius also marched out to meet them with his army duly drawn up and disposed in their several divisions. When they drew near to one another, they uttered their war-cries and ran to the encounter ; and first to engage were the light-armed men, who, fighting with javelins, arrows, and stones from their slings, gave one another many wounds. Next, horsemen clashed with horsemen, charging in troops, and infantry with infantry, fighting by cohorts. Then there was a glorious struggle as both armies fought stubbornly ; and for a long time they stood firm, neither side yielding to the other the ground where they were posted. At length the Romans' line began to be in distress, this being the first occasion in a long time that they had been forced to engage in war. Aquilius, observing this, ordered that the troops which were still fresh and were being reserved for this very purpose should

<sup>1</sup> Literally "third," reckoning inclusively.

μένους ὑπὸ τὰ κάμνοντα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπελθεῖν  
 μέρη, τοὺς δὲ τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας  
 ὀπίσω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπιέναι. οἱ δ' Ἑρνικες ὡς  
 ἔμαθον κινουμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς λόχους, φυγῆς τε  
 ἄρχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπέλαβον, καὶ παρακελευ-  
 σάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐμβάλλουσι πυκνοῖς τοῖς λόχοις  
 εἰς τὰ κινούμενα τῶν πολεμίων μέρη, καὶ οἱ ἀ-  
 κραιφνεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς δέχονται·  
 καὶ ἦν αὖθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἐκθύμως  
 ἀγωνιζομένων μάχη καρτερά· καὶ γὰρ<sup>1</sup> οἱ τῶν  
 Ἑρνίκων ἐξεπληροῦντο λόχοι τοῖς ἀκμῆσιν ὑπο-  
 πεμπομένοις εἰς τὰ κάμνοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων.  
 4 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἦν ἤδη, παρακαλέσας  
 τοὺς ἵππεῖς ὁ ὕπατος νυνὶ γ'<sup>2</sup> ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς  
 γενέσθαι, ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν  
 κέρας αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος τῆς ἰλῆς. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον  
 τινὰ δεξάμενοι χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐγκλίνουσι, καὶ  
 γίνεται φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν  
 τῶν Ἑρνίκων κέρας ἐπόνει τε ἤδη καὶ ἐξέλειπε τὴν  
 τάξιν, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἔτι ἀντεῖχε καὶ περιῆν τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων<sup>3</sup> δεξιοῦ· μετ' ὀλίγον μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο  
 5 ἐνέδωκεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀκύλλιος τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν  
 νέων ἐπαγόμενος παρεβοήθει κἀκεῖ παραθαρρύνων  
 τε καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς εἰωθότας ἐν  
 ταῖς πρὶν ἀριστεύειν μάχαις, τά τε σημεία τῶν  
 λόχων ὅσοι μὴ ἐρρωμένως ἐδόκουν ἀμύνεσθαι παρὰ  
 τῶν σημειοφόρων ἀρπάζων εἰς μέσους ἐρρίπτει  
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τὸ δέος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννόμου  
 τιμωρίας, εἰ μὴ ἀνασώσαιντο τὰς σημείας, ἄνδρας  
 ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι ἀναγκάσῃ· τῷ τε κάμνοντι αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ γὰρ O : καὶ γὰρ καὶ Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> γε added by Sylburg.

come up to reinforce the parts of the line that were in distress and that the men who were wounded and exhausted should retire to the rear. The Hernicans, learning that their troops were being shifted, imagined that the Romans were beginning flight; and encouraging one another and closing their ranks, they fell upon those parts of the enemy's army that were in motion, and the fresh troops of the Romans received their onset. Thus once more, as both sides fought stubbornly, there was a strenuous battle all over again; for the ranks of the Hernicans were also continually reinforced with fresh troops sent up by their generals to the parts of the line that were in distress. At length, late in the afternoon, the consul, encouraging the horsemen now at least to acquit themselves as brave men, led the squadron in a charge against the enemy's right wing. This, after resisting them for a short time, fell back, and a great slaughter ensued. While the Hernicans' right wing was now in difficulties and no longer keeping its ranks, their left still held out and was superior to the Romans' right; but in a short time this too gave way. For Aquilius, taking with him the best of the youth, hastened to the rescue there also, and exhorting his men and calling by name upon those who had been wont to distinguish themselves in former battles, and seizing from their bearers the standards of any centuries that did not seem to be fighting resolutely, he hurled them into the midst of the enemy, in order that their fear of the punishment prescribed by the laws in the case of failure to recover the standards might compel them to be brave men; and he himself continually came to

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<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : 'Ρωμαίων Ο.



παρεβοήθει μέρει αεί, ἕως<sup>1</sup> ἐξέωσε τῆς στάσεως καὶ θάτερον κέρας.<sup>2</sup> ψιλωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄκρων 6 οὐδὲ τὰ μέσα παρέμεινε. φυγὴ δὴ τῶν Ἑρνίκων τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τεταραγμένη τε καὶ ἄκοσμος, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς κτείνοντες ἠκολούθουν. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα προθυμία παρὰ τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ ἐνέπεσεν ὥστε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων πειρᾶσθαι τινὰς ἐπιβαίνειν ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσομένους· ὧν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι γιγνομένην ὁρῶν ὁ ὕπατος, σημαίνειν κελεύσας τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν κατεβίβασε τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἄκοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, δείσας μὴ ἐξ ὑπερ-δεξίων βαλλόμενοι σὺν αἰσχύνη τε καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης βλάβης ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποχωρεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης εὐκλειαν ἀφανίσωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν—ἤδη γάρ<sup>3</sup> ἦν περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου—χαίροντές τε καὶ παιανίζοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατ-εστρατοπέδευσαν.

LXVI. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ψόφος τε ἠκούετο πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων καὶ βοή, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφαίνετο σέλα λαμπάδων. ἀπογνόντες γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθέξειν ἑτέρα μάχη καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἔγνωσαν αὐτοκέλευστοι· καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ βοὴν τοῦτο ἦν. ὡς γὰρ ἕκαστοι δυνάμειος εἶχον καὶ τάχους ἔφευγον ἐπιβοῶντές τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπιβοώμενοι, τῶν δ' ὑπολειπομένων διὰ τραύματα ἢ νόσους οἰμωγὰς καὶ λιτανείας ἐν 2 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέμενοι. τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πεπυσμένοι δὲ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων

<sup>1</sup> ἕως R : τέως Ba, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> κέρας Sylburg : μέρος O.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ Reiske : καὶ γὰρ O.



the relief of any part that was in distress, till he dislodged the other wing also from its position. Their flanks being now exposed, even the centre did not stand its ground. It became a flight then for the Hernicans, a flight back to their camp in confusion and disorder; and the Romans pursued, cutting them down. Such ardour, indeed, came upon the Roman army in that struggle that some of the men endeavoured even to mount the ramparts of the enemy's camp in the hope of taking it by storm. But the consul, perceiving that their ardour was hazardous and detrimental, ordered the signal for a retreat to be sounded and thus brought down from the ramparts against their will those who were coming to blows with the enemy; for he feared that they would be forced by the missiles hurled down upon them from above to retire with shame and great loss and would thus efface the glory of their earlier victory. On that occasion, then, it being now near sunset, the Romans made their camp rejoicing and singing songs of triumph.

LXVI. The following night there was much noise and shouting heard in the camp of the Hernicans, and the lights of many torches were seen. For the enemy, despairing of being able to hold their own in another engagement, had resolved to leave their camp of their own accord; and this was the cause of the disorder and shouting. For they were fleeing with all the strength and speed which each man was capable of, calling to and being called by one another, without showing the least regard for the lamentations and entreaties of those who were being left behind on account of their wounds and sickness. The Romans, who knew nothing of this but had been

πρότερον ὅτι δύναμις Ἑρνίκων ἑτέρα μέλλοι βοη-  
 θὸς ἥξειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καὶ τὴν βοήν τε καὶ  
 ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀφίξει γεγονέναι νομίζον-  
 τες, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὸν χάρακα περι-  
 στεφανώσαντες, μὴ τις ἔφοδος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο  
 νύκτωρ, τοτὲ μὲν ὅπλων κτύπον ἐποιοῦν ἀθρόοι,  
 τοτὲ δ' ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ὀρμώμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπ-  
 ηλάλαζον. τοῖς δ' Ἑρνίξι καὶ ταῦτα δέος μέγα  
 παρεῖχε, καὶ ὡς διωκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων  
 3 σποράδες ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἔθρον.<sup>1</sup> ἡμέρας  
 δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεμφ-  
 θέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἱππεῖς ὡς οὔτε δύναμις  
 ἑτέρα παρῇ<sup>2</sup> σύμμαχος τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἳ τε τῇ  
 προτέρᾳ παραταξάμενοι μάχῃ πεφεύγασιν, ἐξ-  
 αγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀκύλλιος τὸν τε χάρακα  
 τῶν πολεμίων αἰρεῖ μεστὸν ὄντα ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ  
 ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας αὐτῶν οὐκ  
 ἐλάττους ὄντας τῶν πεφευγόντων λαμβάνει, τὴν τε  
 ἵππον ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰς  
 ὁδοὺς τε καὶ τὰς ὕλας πολλῶν γίνεται σωμάτων  
 ἐγκρατὴς· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὴν Ἑρνίκων γῆν  
 ἐπῇει λεηλατῶν ἀδεῶς, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ὑπομένοντος εἰς  
 χεῖρας ἰέναι. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀκύλλιος ἔδρασεν.

LXVII. Ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Σίκκιος,  
 ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους, ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον  
 τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος ἀναλαβὼν<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὴν Οὐελι-  
 τρανῶν χώραν εἰσέβαλεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦν Τύλλος  
 Ἀττιος ὁ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἀκμαιο-  
 τάτην συσκευασάμενος στρατιάν, γνώμην ἔχων τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἔθρον B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> παρῇ B : παρῆν A, παρείη Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναλαβὼν B (?) : λαβὼν Cb, om. R.

informed earlier by the prisoners that another army of Hernicans was intending to come to the aid of their countrymen, imagined that this shouting and tumult had been occasioned by the arrival of those reinforcements, and they accordingly took up their arms once more, and forming a circle about their entrenchments, for fear some attack might be made upon them in the night, they would now make a din by all clashing their weapons together at the same time and now raise their war-cry repeatedly as if they were going into battle. The Hernicans were greatly alarmed at this also, and believing themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed and fled, some by one road and some by another. When day came and the horse sent out to reconnoitre had reported to the Romans that not only was there no fresh force coming to the enemy's assistance, but that even those who had been arrayed in battle the day before had fled, Aquilius marched out with his army and seized the enemy's camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms, and also took captive their wounded, not fewer in number than those who had fled; and sending the horse in pursuit of such as were scattered along the roads and in the woods, he captured many of them. Thereafter he overran the Hernicans' territory and laid it waste with impunity, no one any longer daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.

LXVII. The other consul, Titus Siccus, who had been sent against the Volscians, took with him the flower of the army and made an irruption into the territory of Velitrae. For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was there with the most vigorous part of the army, which he had assembled with the intention of

- συμμαχικὰ Ῥωμαίων κακῶσαι πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ὁ Μάρκιος ἔδρασεν ὅτ' ἤρχετο τοῦ πολέμου, δόξας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φόβῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι διαμένειν καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύουσι πέμψειν ἐπικουρίαν. ὥς δ' ὠφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἀλλήλας αἱ δυνάμεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀναβαλόμεναι συνήεσαν εἰς τὸ αὐτό. ἦν δ' ὁ χώρος ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐν ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἔδει γενέσθαι, λόφος πετρῶδης πολλαχῇ περικατεαγώς, ἔνθα οὐδετέροις ἢ ἵππος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμη. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ θέμενοι εἰ παρόντες τῷ ἀγῶνι μηδὲν προσωφελήσουσιν, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ὑπάτου προσελθόντες ἀθρόοι ἑᾶσαι σφᾶς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μάχεσθαι πεζούς, εἰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι. καὶ κεῖνος πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καταβιβάζει τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ σὺν ἑαυτῷ τεταγμένους εἶχεν ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτὰς τοῦ κάμνοντος ἑσομένους· καὶ ἐγένοντο τῆς τότε νίκης λαμπρᾶς σφόδρα γενομένης<sup>1</sup> οὗτοι Ῥωμαίοις αἴτιοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν ἀμφοτέρων πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων<sup>2</sup> ὥς μάλιστα ἦν καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς ὁμοιότροπον, τάξεώς τε κόσμῳ καὶ μάχης ἐμπειρίᾳ κατὰ τε ἐπαγωγὰς καὶ ὑποχωρήσεις πληγὰς τε αὖ καὶ φυλακὰς παραπλήσιον.
- <sup>4</sup> μετέμαθον γὰρ οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἔσχον ἡγεμόνα, καὶ εἰς τὰ Ῥωμαίων προσεχώρησαν ἔθῃ.

Διέμενον οὖν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγχωμάλως αἱ φάλαγγες ἀγωνιζόμεναι, καὶ ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἀνώματος οὔσα ἑκατέροις πολλὰ εἰς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων παρείχετο. οἱ δ'

<sup>1</sup> γενομένης AmgC : ἑσομένης AB.

first harassing the Romans' allies as Marcius had done when he began the war, thinking that the Romans still continued in the same state of fear and would not send any assistance to those who were incurring danger for their sake. As soon as the two armies were seen by and saw each other, they engaged without delay. The ground between their camps on which the battle would have to take place was a rocky hill broken away in many parts of its circuit, where the horse could be of no use to either side. The Roman cavalry, observing this, thought it would be a shame for them to be present at the action without assisting in it; and coming to the consul in a body, they begged him to permit them to quit their horses and fight on foot, if this seemed best to him. He commended them heartily, and ordering them to dismount, drew them up and kept them with him to observe any part of the line that might be hard pressed and to go to its relief; and they proved to be the cause of the very brilliant victory which the Romans then gained. For the foot on both sides were remarkably alike both in numbers and in armament, and were very similar in the tactical formation of their lines and in their experience in fighting, whether in attacking or retreating, or again in dealing blows or in warding them off. For the Volscians had changed all their military tactics after securing Marcius as their commander, and had adopted the customs of the Romans.

Accordingly, the legionaries of the two armies continued fighting the greater part of the day with equal success; and the unevenness of the terrain afforded each side many advantages against the other. The

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<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώπων ἰσάριθμον Reiske.

ἵππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διχῇ νείμαντες ἑαυτούς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ πλάγια τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες διὰ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ  
 5 λόφου τοῖς κατόπιν ἐπιρράττουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν εἰσακοντίζοντες τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ξίφεσι μακροτέροις οὔσι κατὰ βραχιόνων παίοντες καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύλας καταφέροντες, πολλῶν μὲν τὰς<sup>2</sup> χεῖρας αὐτοῖς σκεπάσμασί τε καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις ἀπέκοπτον, πολλοὺς δὲ γονάτων τε καὶ ἀστραγάλων πληγαῖς βαθείαις  
 6 ἀπὸ κρατίστης βάσεως ἐρρίπτουν ἡμιθανεῖς. περιειστῆκει τε πάντοθεν τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις τὸ δεινόν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέκειντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων τε καὶ τῶν κατόπιν οἱ ἵππεῖς, ὥστε ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα τόλμης τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀποδειξάμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τε τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου κέρως ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεξιὸν τε παρερρηγμένον εἶδον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπιόντας σφίσι τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς, ἐξελίξαντες τοὺς λόχους βάδην ἀπεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐν<sup>3</sup> τάξει ἡκολούθουν.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἐρύματι ἦσαν, ἑτέρα γίνεται μάχη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς περισταυρώμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ χάρακος ὀξεῖα καὶ παλίντροπος. πονουμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ ὕπατος κελεύσας τοῖς πεζοῖς ὕλην προσενέγκαντας ἀποχωῶσαι τὰς τάφρους, πρῶτος ἐχώρει κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβατὸν ἔχων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> διὰ B : ἀπὸ R.



Roman horsemen having divided themselves into two bodies, one of these attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, stormed across it against their rear. Thereupon some of them hurled their spears at the Volscians, and others with their cavalry swords, which are longer than those of the infantry, struck all whom they encountered on the arms and slashed them down to the elbows, cutting off the forearms of many together with the clothing that covered them and their weapons of defence, and by inflicting deep wounds on the knees and ankles of many others, hurled them, no matter how firmly they had stood, half dead upon the ground. And now danger encompassed the Volscians on every side, the foot pressing them in front and the horse on their flank and in the rear ; so that, after having displayed bravery beyond their strength and given many proofs of hardihood and experience, nearly all who held the right wing were cut down. When those arrayed in the centre and on the other wing saw their right wing broken and the Roman horse charging them in the same manner, they caused their files to countermarch and retired slowly to their camp ; and the Roman horse followed, keeping their ranks.

When they were near the ramparts, there ensued another battle, as the horsemen endeavoured to surmount the breastworks of the camp in many different places—a battle that was sharp and of shifting fortunes. When the Romans found themselves hard pressed, the consul ordered the foot to bring brushwood and fill up the ditches ; then, putting himself at the head of the bravest horsemen, he advanced

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<sup>2</sup> ἀμυνομένας ἢ σκεπούσας τὰ σώματα after τὰς deleted by Reiske. <sup>3</sup> ἐν added by Steph.<sup>2</sup>



ἐχυρωτάτας τοῦ χάρακος πύλας· ἀναστείλας δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας τῶν πυλῶν διακόψας ἐντὸς ἐγεγόνει τῶν ἐρυμάτων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας τῶν σφετέρων πεζῶν ἐδέχετο.

8 Τύλλος δ' Ἄττιος ἔχων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ εὐτολμοτάτους Οὐολούσκων ὁμόσε αὐτῷ χωρεῖ καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα γενναῖα ἀποδειξάμενος (ἦν γὰρ ἀγωνιστὴς μὲν πολέμων σφόδρα ἄλκιμος, στρατηγῆσαι δ' οὐχ ἱκανός) ὑπὸ κόπου τε καὶ πλήθους τραυμάτων καταπονηθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει. τῶν δ' ἄλλων Οὐολούσκων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χάραξ ἠλίσκετο, οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ρίψαντες πρὸς ἱκεσίας τῶν κεκράτηκόντων ἐτράποντο, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία φεύγοντες ἀπεσώθησαν.

9 Ἀφικομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγέλων, οὓς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὕπατοι, μεγίστη χαρὰ τὸν δῆμον κατέσχε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς χαριστηρίους ἐψηφίσαντο θυσίας, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις τὴν τῶν θριάμβων τιμὴν προσέθεσαν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν αὐτὴν γε ἀμφοτέροις· ἀλλὰ Σικκίῳ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φόβου μείζωνος ἠλευθερωκέναι ἐδόκει τὴν πόλιν τὸν Οὐολούσκων ὕβριστὴν καθελὼν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὴν μείζονα πομπὴν ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ εἰσήλασεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄγων τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν συναγωνισαμένην δύναμιν ἄρματι παρεμβεβηκώς χρυσοχαλίνων ἵππων τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμφιεσμένος ἐσθῆτα, ὥς περὶ<sup>1</sup> τοὺς

10 μείζονας θριάμβους νόμος. Ἀκυλλίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον θρίαμβον ἀπέδοσαν, ὃν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν οὐαστήν<sup>2</sup>. δεδήλωται δέ μοι διὰ τῶν προτέρων ἦν ἔχει

<sup>1</sup> ὥς περὶ Reiske : ὥσπερ O.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon : εὐάστην A, ὡάν R.

over the passage they had made to the strongest gate of the camp, and having driven back the defenders in front of it and cut asunder the portcullis, he got inside the ramparts and let in those of his foot who followed. Here Tullus Attius encountered him with the sturdiest and most daring of the Volscians, and after performing many gallant deeds—for he was a very valiant warrior, though not competent as a general—at last, overcome by weariness and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. As for the other Volscians, as soon as their camp was being taken, some were slain while fighting, others threw down their arms and turned to supplicating the conquerors, while some few took to flight and got safely home.

When the couriers sent by the consuls arrived in Rome, the people were filled with the greatest joy, and they immediately voted sacrifices of thanksgiving for the gods and decreed the honour of a triumph to the consuls, though not the same to both. For as Siccius was thought to have freed the state from the greater fear by destroying the insolent army of the Volscians and killing their general, they granted to him the greater triumph. He accordingly drove into the city with the spoils, the prisoners, and the army that had fought under him, he himself riding in a chariot drawn by horses with golden bridles and being arrayed in the royal robes, as is the custom in the greater triumphs. To Aquilius they decreed the lesser triumph, which they call an ovation (I have earlier<sup>1</sup> shown the difference between this and the

<sup>1</sup> v. 47.

διαφορὰν οὗτος πρὸς τὸν μείζονα· καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ πεζὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πομπῆς ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

LXVIII. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ὑπατείαν παραλαβόντες Πρόκλος<sup>1</sup> Οὐεργίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Κάσσιος τρίτον<sup>2</sup> τότε ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπατος, τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀναλαβόντες δυνάμεις ἐξῆγον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον, Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Κάσσιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Οὐολούσκων, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἐξόδους. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ὀχυρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὴν τε γῆν περιεώρων δηουμένην καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς ἐμπιμπραμένας, ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος ὅσῃν ἐδύνατο πλείστην αὐτῶν γῆν κείρας τε καὶ λωβησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> ἐξήκει μαχούμενος<sup>3</sup> ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. Οὐολούσκοι δὲ καὶ Ἑρνικες, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κάσσιος ἐστράτευσε, γνώμην μὲν ἐποιήσαντο δηουμένης τῆς χώρας περιορᾶν καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις<sup>4</sup>. οὐ μὴν ἔμεινάν γε ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, χώρας τε ἀγαθῆς κειρομένης, ἣν οὐ ῥαδίως ἀνακτήσεσθαι<sup>5</sup> ἔτι ἤλπισαν, οἷκτῳ ὑπαχθέντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυροῖς οὖσιν, εἰς ἃ κατεπεφεύγεσαν<sup>6</sup> ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις<sup>7</sup> ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου δεησομένους<sup>8</sup>. Οὐολοῦσκοι μὲν πρότεροι, καὶ θᾶπτον οὗτοι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον ἀργύριόν τε δόντες ὅσον αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Sigonius : πόπλιος Ο.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ τρίτον Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> μαχούμενος B : μαχόμενος R.

<sup>4</sup> τὰς πόλεις Portus : τὴν πόλιν Ο.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg : ἀνακτήσασθαι Ο.

greater triumph); and he entered the city on foot, bringing up the remainder of the procession. Thus that year ended.

LXVIII. These consuls <sup>1</sup> were succeeded by Proculus Verginius and Spurius Cassius (the latter being then chosen consul for the third time), who took the field with both the citizen forces and those of the allies. It fell to the lot of Verginius to lead his army against the Aequians and to that of Cassius to march against the Hernicans and the Volscians. The Aequians, having fortified their cities and removed thither out of the country everything that was most valuable, permitted their land to be laid waste and their country-houses to be set on fire, so that Verginius with great ease ravaged and ruined as much of their country as he could, since no one came out to defend it, and then led his army home. The Volscians and the Hernicans, against whom Cassius took the field, had resolved to permit their land to be laid waste and had taken refuge in their cities. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resolution, being overcome with regret at seeing the desolation of a fertile country which they could not expect to restore easily to its former condition, and, at the same time distrusting the defences in which they had taken refuge, as these were not very strong; but they sent ambassadors to the consul to sue for a termination of the war. The Volscians were the first to send envoys and they obtained peace the sooner by giving as

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 68-76 *cf.* Livy ii. 41, 1-9.

<sup>6</sup> Sylburg : καταπεφύγασιν O.

<sup>7</sup> Cobet : πρεσβείας O.

<sup>8</sup> Cobet : δεησόμενοι O (but letter erased after οι in B), δεησομένας added above line in C.

ὁ ὕπατος ἔταξε, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ  
 πάντα ὑπηρετήσαντες· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπήκοοι  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἔσεσθαι ὠμολόγησαν οὐθενὸς ἔτι μετα-  
 3 ποιούμενοι τῶν ἴσων· Ἑρνικες δ' ὕστεροι, ἐπειδὴ  
 μεμονωμένους ἑαυτοὺς εἶδον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ  
 φιλίας διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος  
 πολλὴν κατηγορίαν πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτῶν  
 διαθέμενος πρῶτον ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν κε-  
 κρατημένων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων ποιήσαντας, τότε  
 διαλέγεσθαι περὶ φιλίας· τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν ὁμολο-  
 γούντων<sup>1</sup> ποιήσειν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μέτρια ἐκέλευσεν  
 αὐτοῖς ἀργύριόν τε ὃ κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς στρατιώ-  
 ταις εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἔθος ἦν ἕξ<sup>2</sup> μηνῶν δίδοσθαι  
 4 καὶ διμήνου<sup>3</sup> τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν. ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα  
 εὐπορήσωσι,<sup>4</sup> τάξας τινὰ χρόνον ἡμερῶν ἀνοχὰς  
 αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τοῦ πολέμου. ὑπηρετησάντων δ'  
 αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τῶν Ἑρνίκων διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ  
 προθυμίας, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς<sup>5</sup> φιλίας διαλεξομένους  
 ἀποστειλάντων αὐθις, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κάσσιος  
 ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ συν-  
 εδρίου πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι μὲν  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ γενήσονται δικαί-  
 οις αἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκαι, Κάσσιον τὸν ὕπατον  
 γινῶναί τε καὶ καταστήσασθαι,<sup>6</sup> ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ  
 δόξη, τοῦτ' εἶναι σφίσι κύριον.

LXIX. Ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀνα-  
 στρέψας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον κατάγειν  
 ἡξίου δεύτερον ὡς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν κεχειρω-  
 μένος, χάριτι μᾶλλον ἀρπάζων τὸ τίμιον ἢ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ὁμολογούντων Cary, εἰπόντων Cobet, Jacoby : χάριν Λ, om. R (but D has λεγόντων after μέτρια).

<sup>2</sup> ἕξ added by Sylburg.

much money as the consul ordered and furnishing everything else the army needed; and they agreed to become subject to the Romans without making any further claims to equality. After them the Hernicans, seeing themselves isolated, treated with the consul for peace and friendship. But Cassius made many accusations against them to their ambassadors, and said that they ought first to act like men conquered and subjects and then treat for friendship. When the ambassadors agreed to do everything that was possible and reasonable, he ordered them to furnish the amount of money it was customary to give each soldier as pay for six months, as well as provisions for two months; and in order that they might raise these supplies he granted them a truce, appointing a definite number of days for it to run. When the Hernicans, after supplying them with everything promptly and eagerly, sent ambassadors again to treat for friendship, Cassius commended them and referred them to the senate. The senators after much deliberation resolved to receive this people into their friendship, but as to the terms on which the treaty with them should be made, they voted that Cassius the consul should decide and settle these, and that whatever he approved of should have their sanction.

LXIX. The senate having passed this vote, Cassius returned to Rome and demanded a second triumph, as if he had subdued the greatest nations, thus attempting to seize the honour as a favour rather than

<sup>3</sup> δμῆνον Kiessling : διὰ μηνὸς O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> εὐπορήσωσι O (but erasure of 2-3 letters before εὐ in B) : εἰσενπορήσωσι Naber, συμπορίσωσι Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς B : om. R.

<sup>6</sup> Reiske : σῆσαι O, Jacoby.



δικαίῳ λαμβάνων, ὃς οὔτε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐκ τειχομαχίας οὔτ' ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μάχῃ στρατιὰν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος αἰχμάλωτα καὶ σκῦλα, οἷς κοσμεῖται θρίαμβος, ἔμελλε κατάγειν. τοιγάρτοι δόξαν αὐθαδείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις φρονεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ πρῶτον<sup>1</sup> ἡνεγκε. διαπραξάμενος δὲ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι τὰς πρὸς Ἑρnikας ἐξήνεγκεν ὁμολογίας· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀντίγραφοι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους γενομένων, ἐφ' αἷς πάννυ ἤχθοντο οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ τιμιώτατοι καὶ δι' ὑποψίας αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς τοῖς συγγενέσι Λατίνοις τοὺς ἄλλοεθνεῖς Ἑρnikας τυγχάνειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς πολλὰ εὐνοίας ἔργα ἐπιδειξαμένοις τοὺς μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν δεδρακότας τῶν αὐτῶν φιλανθρώπων μετέχειν, τῇ τε ὑπεροψία<sup>2</sup> τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀχθόμενοι, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τιμηθεὶς οὐκ ἀντετίμησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἴσοις, οὐδὲ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν συνέδρων ἀλλ' ὥς<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ ἐδόκει γράψας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς ὁμολογίας. ἦν τε ἄρα τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς εὐτυχεῖν σφαλερὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρῆμα καὶ ἀσύμφορον· αὐχήματός τε γὰρ ἀνοήτου πολλοῖς αἴτιον γενόμενον λανθάνει καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἐκβαίνουσῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν· ὃ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ συνέβη. τρισὶ γὰρ ὑπατείαις καὶ δυσὶ θριάμβοις μόνος τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τετιμημένος σεμνότερον ἑαυτὸν ἦγε καὶ μοναρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐλάμβανε πόθον· ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ὅτι τοῖς βασιλείας ἢ τυραννίδος ἐφιεμένοις ράστη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτῃ πασῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἢ

<sup>1</sup> φθόνον after πρῶτον deleted by Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ τε ὑπεροψία Cb, Reiske : τῆς τε ὑπεροψίας O.



to receive it as a right, since, though he had neither taken any cities by storm nor put to rout an army of enemies in the field, he was to lead home captives and spoils, the adornments of a triumph. Accordingly, this action first brought him a reputation for presumption and for no longer entertaining thoughts like those of his fellow citizens. Then, when he had secured for himself the granting of the triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with the Hernicans, which was a copy of the one that had been made with the Latins. At this the oldest and most honoured of the senators were very indignant and regarded him with suspicion; for they were unwilling that the Hernicans, an alien race, should obtain the same honour as their kinsmen, the Latins, and that those who had not done them the least service should be treated with the same kindness as those who had shown them many instances of their goodwill. They were also displeased at the arrogance of the man, who, after being honoured by the senate, had not shown equal honour to that body, but had produced a treaty drawn up according to his own pleasure and not with the general approval of the senate. But it seems that to be successful in many undertakings is a dangerous and prejudicial thing for a man; for to many it is the hidden source of senseless pride and the secret author of desires that are too ambitious for our human nature. And so it was with Cassius. For, being the only man at that time who had been honoured by his country with three consulships and two triumphs, he now conducted himself in a more pompous manner and conceived a desire for monarchical power. And bearing in mind that the easiest and safest way of all for those who aim at

τὸ πλῆθος εὐεργεσίαις τισὶν ὑπαγομένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ διδόντος τὰ κοινὰ σιτεῖσθαι ἐθίζουσα, ταύτην ἐτράπετο· καὶ αὐτίκα οὐθενὶ προειπών, ἦν γάρ τις χώρα δημοσία πολλή παρημελημένη τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπορωτάτων κατεχομένη, ταύτην ἔγνω  
 4 τῷ δήμῳ διανέμειν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε ἐλθὼν ἠρκέσθη, τάχ' ἂν αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τὸ ἔργον ἐχώρησε· νῦν δὲ πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενος στάσιν οὐ μικράν ἤγειρεν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ εὐτυχὲς τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ συνέβη. Λατίνους τε γὰρ ἡξίου τῇ καταγραφῇ τῆς χώρας συμπεριλαμβάνων καὶ τοὺς νεωστὶ προσληφθέντας εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Ἑρνικας οἰκεῖα ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάσαι<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἔθνη.

LXX. Ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς τῇ μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλεσε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς τεθριαμβευκόσι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε<sup>2</sup> τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ κεφάλαια ἦν  
 2 ταῦτα· ὅτι τῆς μὲν πρώτης ὑπατείας τυχὼν τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ἀντιποιοῦμενον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μάχῃ νικήσας ὑπήκοον ἠνάγκασε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι· ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὕπατος τὴν ἐμφύλιον ἔπαυσε τῆς πόλεως στάσιν καὶ κατήγαγε τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, Λατίνους δὲ συγγενεῖς μὲν ὄντας τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, αἰὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας

<sup>1</sup> συμπεριλαμβάνων . . . παρασκευάσαι Sintenis, συμπεριλαμβάνειν . . . παρασκευάσας Jacoby : συμπεριλαμβάνειν . . . παρασκευάσαι O (but Cmg adds βουλόμενος after τὰ ἔθνη). Cobet supplied καὶ οὕτως before παρασκευάσαι.

<sup>2</sup> Sintenis : ἀποδέδωκε O.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* 27, 4, διδόναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν, the demagogic principle which Pericles is said to have adopted in introducing pay for jury duty.

monarchy or tyranny is to draw the multitude to oneself by sundry gratifications and to accustom them to feed themselves out of the hands of the one who distributes the possessions of the public,<sup>1</sup> he took that course ; and at once, without communicating his intention to anyone, he determined to divide among the people a certain large tract of land belonging to the state which had been neglected and was then in the possession of the richest men. Now if he had been content to stop there, the business might perhaps have gone according to his wish ; but as it was, by grasping for more, he raised a violent sedition, the outcome of which proved anything but fortunate for him. For he thought fit in assigning the land to include not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had only recently been admitted to citizenship, and thus to attach these nations to himself.

LXX. Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph he called the multitude together in assembly, and coming forward to the tribunal, according to the custom of those who have triumphed, he first gave his account of his achievements, the sum of which was as follows : that in his first consulship he had defeated in battle the Sabines, who were laying claim to the supremacy, and compelled them to become subject to the Romans ; that upon being chosen consul for the second time he had appeased the sedition in the state and restored the populace to the fatherland,<sup>2</sup> and had caused the Latins, who, though kinsmen of the Romans, had always envied them their supremacy

<sup>2</sup> After their withdrawal to the Sacred Mount. But there is nothing in Dionysius' lengthy account of the secession (vi. 45-90) to indicate that Cassius deserved any special credit for the return of the plebeians.

καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτῇ φθονοῦντας, εἰς φιλότητα συν-  
 ἤγαγε τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας μεταδούς, ὥστε μηκέτι  
 3 ἀντίπαλον ἀλλὰ πατρίδα τὴν Ῥώμην νομίζειν· τρί-  
 τον<sup>1</sup> δὲ καταστάς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν Οὐολούσκους  
 τε ἠνάγκασε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ  
 Ἑρνίκων ἔθνος μέγα τε καὶ ἄλκιμον καὶ πλησίον  
 σφῶν κείμενον βλάπτειν τε καὶ ὠφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα  
 4 ἱκανώτατον ἐκούσιον ὑπηγάγετο. ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ  
 τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις διεξελθὼν ἡξίου τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτῷ  
 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὥς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους  
 πρόνοιαν ἔχοντι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν  
 ἔξοντι χρόνον. τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοσαῦτα  
 ἔφη καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ποιήσιν τὸν δῆμον ὥστε  
 ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ  
 φιλεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὸ δημοτικόν· καὶ ταῦτα ἔφη  
 5 ποιήσιν οὐκ εἰς μακράν. διαλύσας δὲ τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ ἀκαριαῖον διαλιπὼν τῇ κατ-  
 όπιν ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον,  
 ὀρθὴν καὶ περίφοβον οὔσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ λόγοις· καὶ πρὶν ἑτέρου τινὸς ἄρξασθαι λόγου  
 τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ φυλαχθεῖσαν γνώμην  
 εἰς μέσον ἔφερεν, ἀξιῶν τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐπειδὴ  
 πολλὰ ὁ δῆμος τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος γέγονε τὰ μὲν  
 εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὸ ἐτέρων ἄρχειν  
 συλλαβόμενος, πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, τὴν τε  
 χώραν αὐτῷ νείμαντας ὅση πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα  
 λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δημοσία, ἔργῳ δὲ τῶν ἀναιδεστά-  
 των τε καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ κατεσχηκότων πατρι-  
 κίων, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου

<sup>1</sup> τὸ τρίτον Cobet.

and glory, to become their friends by conferring upon them equal rights of citizenship, so that they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their fatherland; that being for the third time invested with the same magistracy, he had not only compelled the Volscians to become their friends instead of enemies, but had also brought about the voluntary submission of the Hernicans, a great and warlike nation situated near them and quite capable of doing them either the greatest mischief or the greatest service. After recounting these and similar achievements he asked the populace to pay good heed to him, as to one who then had and always would have a greater concern for the commonwealth than any others. He concluded his speech by saying that he would confer upon the populace so many benefits and so great as to surpass all those who were commended for befriending and saving the plebeians; and these things he said he would soon accomplish. He then dismissed the assembly, and without even the slightest delay called a meeting the next day of the senate, which was already in suspense and terrified at his words. And before taking up any other subject he proceeded to lay before them openly the purpose which he had kept concealed in the popular assembly, asking of the senators that, inasmuch as the populace had rendered the commonwealth great service by aiding it, not only to retain its liberty, but also to rule over other peoples, they should show their concern for them by dividing among them the land conquered in war, which, though nominally the property of the state, was in reality possessed by the most shameless patricians, who had occupied it without any legal claim; and that the price paid for the corn sent

πεμφθείσης σφίσι δωρεᾶς σιτικῆς, ἣν προῖκα δέον ἅπαντας διανείμασθαι τοὺς πολίτας ὠνητὴν ἐλάμβανον οἱ πένητες, ἀποδοθῆναι τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ὠνησαμένοις ἐξ ὧν εἶχε τὸ κοινὸν χρημάτων.

LXXI. Εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς, ἀχθομένων ἀπάντων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο ὃ τε συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Οὐεργίνιος πολλὴν ἐποιήσατο κατηγορίαν ὡς στάσιν εἰσάγοντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ τιμιώτατοι, μάλιστα δ' Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος· καὶ μέχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἡγριωμένοι τε καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα<sup>1</sup> κατ' ἀλλήλων  
2 οὐνεῖδη λέγοντες οὗτοι διετέλεσαν. ταῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐκκλησίας συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος ἐξεδημαγώγει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας λόγους εἰσέφερε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων. ὁ δὲ Οὐεργίνιος τὴν βουλὴν ὅσημέραι συνάγων μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο φυλακὰς τε καὶ  
3 κωλύσεις νομίμους. καὶ ἦν στῖφος ἐκατέρω τῶν παρακολουθούντων τε καὶ φυλακὴν τῷ σώματι παρεχόντων πολὺ, τὸ μὲν ἄπορον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ πάντα τολμᾶν πρόχειρον ὑπὸ τῷ Κασσίῳ τεταγμένον, τὸ δ' εὐγενέστατόν τε καὶ καθαρώτατον ὑπὸ  
4 τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ.<sup>2</sup> τέως μὲν οὖν τὸ χεῖρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεκράτει μακρῷ θατέρου προὔχον, ἔπειτα ἰσόρροπον ἐγένετο προσνειμάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῶν δημάρχων τῇ κρείττονι μοίρᾳ, τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει δεκασμοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἔσχατα O : αἷσχιστα Sylburg, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> οὐεργινίῳ B : οὐεργινίῳ τιθέμενον R.



them by Gelon, the tyrant of Sicily, as a present, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens as a free gift, the poor had got by purchase, should be repaid to the purchasers from the funds held in the public treasury.

LXXI. At once, while he was still speaking, a great tumult arose, the senators to a man disliking his proposal and refusing to countenance it. And when he had done, not only his colleague Verginius, but the oldest and the most honoured of the senators as well, particularly Appius Claudius, inveighed against him vehemently for attempting to stir up a sedition ; and until a late hour these men continued to be beside themselves with rage and to utter the severest reproaches against one another. During the following days Cassius assembled the populace continually and attempted to win them over by his harangues, introducing the arguments in favour of the allotment of the land and laying himself out in invectives against his opponents. Verginius, for his part, assembled the senate every day and in concert with the patricians prepared legal safeguards and hindrances against the other's designs. Each of the consuls had a strong body of men attending him and guarding his person ; the needy and the unwashed and such as were prepared for any daring enterprise were ranged under Cassius, and those of the noblest birth, and the most immaculate under Verginius. For some time the baser element prevailed in the assemblies, being far more numerous than the others ; then they became evenly balanced when the tribunes joined the better element. This change of front on the part of the tribunes was due perhaps to their feeling that it was not best for the commonwealth



τε ἀργυρίου καὶ διανομαῖς τῶν δημοσίων διαφθειρό-  
 μενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀργὸν καὶ πονηρὸν εἶναι, τάχα  
 δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον, ὅτι τῆς φιланθρωπίας ταύτης  
 οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότες, ἀλλ'  
 ἕτερος· οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὸ δέος<sup>2</sup> ὃ πρὸς  
 τὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλάμβανον μείζονα γενο-  
 5 μένην<sup>3</sup> ἢ τῇ πόλει συνέφερεν. ἀντέλεγον γοῦν<sup>4</sup> ἤδη  
 κατὰ κράτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς  
 εἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου νόμους, διδάσκον-  
 τες τὸν δῆμον ὡς οὐκ εἶη δίκαιον, ἃ διὰ πολλῶν  
 ἐκτῆσατο πολέμων,<sup>5</sup> ταῦτα μὴ Ῥωμαίους νείμα-  
 σθαι μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατίνους αὐτοῖς ἰσομοιρεῖν  
 τοὺς μὴ παραγενομένους τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοὺς  
 νεωστὶ προσελθόντας πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν Ἑρnikας, οἷς  
 ἀγαπητὸν ἦν πολέμῳ προσαχθεῖσι τὸ μὴ τὴν ἑαυ-  
 6 τῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι χώραν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούων τοτὲ  
 μὲν τοῖς τῶν δημάρχων προσετίθετο λόγοις, ἐνθυμού-  
 μενος ὅτι μικρόν τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἔσται λόγου  
 τὸ ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἐσόμενον ἐκάστω λάχος,  
 εἰ μεθ' Ἑρnikῶν τε καὶ Λατίνων αὐτὴν νεμήσονται,  
 τοτὲ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου μετεπεΐθετο δημαγωγοῦν-  
 τος ὡς προδιδόντων αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρικίοις τῶν  
 δημάρχων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τῆς κωλύσεως  
 εὐπρεπῇ τὴν Ἑρnikῶν τε καὶ Λατίνων ἰσομοιρίαν,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ δέος Reiske : τοῦτο τὸ δέος O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling : γινομένην B, γενέσθαι A.

<sup>4</sup> Capps : οὖν O, μὲν οὖν Garrar.

<sup>5</sup> πολέμων O : πόνων Cobet.

that the multitude should be corrupted by bribes of money and distributions of the public lands and so be idle and depraved, and perhaps also to envy, since it was not they themselves, the leaders of the populace, who had been the authors of this liberality, but someone else ; however, there is no reason why their action was not due also to the fear they felt at the increase in Cassius' power, which had grown greater than was to the interest of the commonwealth. At any rate, these men in the meetings of the assembly now began to oppose with all their power the laws which Cassius was introducing, showing the people that it was not fair if the possessions which they had acquired in the course of many wars<sup>1</sup> were not to be distributed was not due also to the fear they felt at the increase among the Romans alone, but were to be shared equally not only by the Latins, who had not been present in those wars, but also by the Hernicans, who had but lately entered into friendship with them, and having been brought to it by war, would be content not to be deprived of their own territory. The people, as they listened, would now assent to the representations of the tribunes, when they recalled that the portion of the public land which would fall to the lot of each man would be small and inconsiderable if they shared it with the Hernicans and the Latins, and again would change their minds as Cassius in his harangues charged that the tribunes were betraying them to the patricians and using his proposal to give an equal share of the land to the Hernicans and the Latins as a specious pretence for their opposition ; whereas, he said, he had included these

<sup>1</sup> Or, following Cobet's emendation, "through many hardships"—a favourite expression with Dionysius.

ἦν αὐτὸς ἔφη νόμῳ περιλαβεῖν ἰσχύος τῶν πενήτων ἕνεκα καί, εἴ τις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶσαι τὰ δοθέντα, κωλύσεως,<sup>1</sup> κρεῖττον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς πολλοῖς μικρὰ λαβοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἢ πολλὰ ἐλπίσασιν ἀπάντων ἀποτυχεῖν.

LXXII. Τούτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Κασσίου θαμινὰ μεταπείθοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὸν ὄχλον παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων, Γάιος Ῥαβολήιος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄφρων, τήν τε διχοστασίαν τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπέσχετο παύσειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσειν φανερόν ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπισημασίας δὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ μεγάλης καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπῆς, “Οὐχὶ ταῦτα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Κάσσιε, καὶ σὺ Οὐεργίνιε, τὰ κεφάλαιά ἐστι τοῦ νόμου, ἐν μέν, εἰ χρὴ τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν κατ’ ἄνδρα διαμεμηθῆναι, ἕτερον δ’, εἰ χρὴ καὶ Λατίνους καὶ Ἑρνίκας μέρος αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> λαβεῖν<sup>3</sup>;” ὁμολογησάντων δ’ αὐτῶν. “Εἶεν δὴ· σὺ μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Κάσσιε, ἀμφότερα ταῦτ’ ἐπιψηφίζεις ἀξιοῖς τὸν δῆμον, σὺ δὲ δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, λέξον ἡμῖν, πότερα θάτερον<sup>3</sup> ἀκυροῖς τῆς Κασσίου γνώμης μέρος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἰσομοίρους ἡμῖν Ἑρνικάς τε καὶ Λατίνους ποιεῖν, ἢ καὶ θάτερον ἀκυροῖς ἀξιῶν οὐδὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν τὰ κοινά; ταυτὶ γὰρ<sup>3</sup> ἀπόκριναί μοι μηθὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος.” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργινίου τῇ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων

<sup>1</sup> κωλύσεως Ba : κωλύσαι ABb.

<sup>2</sup> λαβεῖν (or λαβόντας ἔχειν) Sylburg, λαβόντας ἔχειν Jacoby : λαβόντας O.

<sup>3</sup> θάτερον O : θάτερον μόνον Reiske. Jacoby in accepting Reiske’s emendation, inadvertently added μόνον after the second θάτερον, three lines below, instead of here.

peoples in his law with a view to adding strength to the poor and of hindering any attempt that might thereafter be made to deprive them of what had been once granted to them, since he regarded it as better and safer for the masses to get little, but to keep that little undiminished, than to expect a great deal and to be disappointed of everything.

LXXII. While Cassius by these arguments frequently changed the minds of the multitude in the meetings of the assembly, one of the tribunes, Gaius Rabuleius, a man not lacking in intelligence, came forward and promised that he would soon put an end to the dissension between the consuls and would also make it clear to the populace what they ought to do. And when a great demonstration of approval followed, and then silence, he said : “ Are not these, Cassius and Verginius, the chief issues of this law—first, whether the public land should be distributed with an equal portion for everyone, and second, whether the Latins and the Hernicans should receive a share of it ? ” And when they assented, he continued : “ Very well. You, Cassius, ask the people to vote for both provisions. But as for you, Verginius, tell us, for Heaven’s sake, whether you oppose that part of Cassius’ proposal which relates to the allies, believing that we ought not to make the Hernicans and the Latins equal sharers with us, or whether you oppose the other also, holding that we should not distribute the property of the state even among ourselves. Just answer these questions for me without concealing anything.” When Verginius said that he opposed giving an equal share of the land to the Hernicans

ἀντιλέγειν ἰσομοιρία, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ  
 πᾶσι δόξειε, διανέμεσθαι συγχωρεῖν, ἐπιστρέψας ὁ  
 δήμαρχος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον εἶπεν· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὸ  
 μὲν ἕτερον τῆς γνώμης μέρος ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς  
 ὑπάτοις συνδοκεῖ, τὸ δ’ ἕτερον ἀντιλέγεται πρὸς  
 θατέρου, ἰσότημοι δ’ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε  
 βιάσασθαι θατέρῳ τὸν ἕτερον, ὃ μὲν δίδοται παρ’  
 ἀμφοτέρων, ἤδη λάβωμεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ δ’ ἀμφισβητοῦ-  
 4 σιν, ἀναβαλόμεθα.” ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ πλή-  
 θους ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθεμένῳ καὶ καταλύειν ἐκ  
 τοῦ νόμου τὸ ποιοῦν διχοστασίαν μέρος ἀξιούντος,  
 ἀπορῶν ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ οὔτε  
 ἀναθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην προαιρούμενος οὔτε μένειν  
 ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἀντιπραττόντων τῶν δημάρχων δυνά-  
 μενος, τότε μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ταῖς δ’  
 ἑξῆς ἡμέραις ἀρρωστίαν σκηπτόμενος οὐκέτι κατ-  
 έβαινεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀλλ’ ὑπομένων ἔνδον ἐπραγ-  
 ματεύετο βία καὶ χειροκρασία κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον·  
 καὶ μετεπέμπετο Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ὅσους  
 5 ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν. οἱ δὲ  
 συνήεσαν ἀθρόοι, καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου μεστή ξένων ἦν  
 ἡ πόλις. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος κηρύττειν  
 ἐκέλευσε κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἀπιέναι τοὺς μὴ  
 κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, χρόνον ὀρίσας οὐ πολύν.  
 ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τάναντία ἐκέλευσε κηρύττειν παρα-  
 μένειν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἕως ἂν  
 ἐπικυρωθῇ ὁ νόμος.

LXXIII. Ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πέρας, δείσαντες  
 οἱ πατρίκιοι μὴ ψήφων τε ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ χειρῶν  
 ἐπιβολαὶ γένωνται καὶ τᾶλλα<sup>1</sup> ὅσα φιλεῖ βίαια  
 συμβαίνειν ἐν ταῖς στασιαζούσαις ἐκκλησίαις εἰς-

<sup>1</sup> Capps : ἄλλα O, Jacoby.

and the Latins, but consented to its being divided among the Roman citizens, if all were of that opinion, the tribune, turning to the multitude, said : “ Since, then, one part of the proposed measure is approved of by both consuls and the other is opposed by one of them, and as both men are equal in rank and neither can use compulsion on the other, let us accept now the part which both are ready to grant us, and postpone the other, concerning which they differ.” The multitude signified by their acclamations that his advice was most excellent and demanded that he strike out of the law that part which gave occasion for discord ; whereupon Cassius was at a loss what to do, and being neither willing to withdraw his proposal nor able to adhere to it while the tribunes opposed him, he dismissed the assembly for that time. During the following days he feigned illness and no longer went down to the Forum ; but remaining at home, he set about getting the law passed by force and violence, and sent for as many of the Latins and Hernicans as he could to come and vote for it. These assembled in great numbers and presently the city was full of strangers. Verginius, being informed of this, ordered proclamation to be made in the streets that all who were not residents of the city should depart ; and he set an early time limit. But Cassius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed—that all who possessed the rights of citizens should remain till the law was passed.

LXXIII. There being no end of these contests, the patricians, fearing that when the law came to be proposed there would be stealing of votes, recourse to violence, and all the other forcible means that are wont to be employed in factious assemblies, met in



## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

φερομένου τοῦ νόμου, συνήλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον  
 2 ὡς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἅπαξ βουλευσόμενοι. Ἄππιος  
 μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην οὐκ εἶα συγ-  
 χωρεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διανομήν, διδάσκων ὡς χαλε-  
 πὸς ἔσται καὶ ἀλυσιτελὴς σύνοικος ὄχλος ἀργὸς  
 ἐθισθεὶς τὰ δημόσια λιχνεύειν, καὶ οὐθὲν ἑάσει ποτὲ  
 τῶν κοινῶν οὔτε κτημάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἔτι κοι-  
 νὸν μένειν· αἰσχύνης τε, ἄξιον πρᾶγμα εἶναι λέγων, εἰ  
 Κασσίου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς πονηρὰ καὶ ἀσύμφορα  
 πολιτευομένου καὶ τὸν δῆμον διαφθείροντος, ἔπειτ'  
 αὐτοὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ ταύτ' ἐπικυρώσουσιν ὡς δίκαια  
 καὶ συμφέροντα· ἐνθυμείσθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν, ὡς  
 οὐδ' ἡ χάρις ἡ παρὰ τῶν πενήτων, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ  
 διανεύμιντο, τοῖς συγχωρήσασι καὶ ἐπιψηφισα-  
 μένοις ὑπάρξει,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἐνὶ<sup>2</sup> τῷ προθέντι τὴν γνώ-  
 μην Κασσίῳ καὶ δόξαντι ἠναγκαλέναι τὴν βουλήν  
 3 ἄκουσαν ἐπικυρῶσαι. προειπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ  
 παραπλήσια τούτοις ἕτερα τελευτῶν τάδε συνεβού-  
 λευσεν· ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων βουλευτῶν  
 ἐλέσθαι δέκα<sup>3</sup> οἵτινες, ἐπελθόντες τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν  
 ἀφοριοῦσι, καὶ εἴ τινα ἐξ αὐτῆς κλέπτοντες ἢ  
 βιαζόμενοί τινες ἰδιῶται κατανέμουσιν ἢ ἐπεργάζον-  
 ται διαγνόντες ἀποδώσουσι τῷ δημοσίῳ. τὴν  
 δ' ὀρισθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γῆν διαιρεθεῖσαν εἰς  
 κλήρους ὅσους δὴ τινες καὶ στήλαις εὐκόσμοις  
 διαγραφείσαν τὴν μὲν ἀπεμποληθῆναι παρήνει καὶ  
 μάλιστα περὶ ἧς ἀμφίλογόν τι πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἦν,

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : ὑπάρχει Ο.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνὶ Reiske : ἐπὶ Ο.

<sup>3</sup> δέκα added by Coët.



the senate-house to deliberate concerning all these matters once and for all. Appius, upon being asked his opinion first, refused to grant the distribution of land to the people, pointing out that an idle multitude accustomed to devour the public stores would prove troublesome and unprofitable fellow citizens and would never allow any of the common possessions, whether property or money, to continue to be held in common. He declared that it would be a shameful thing if the senators, who had been accusing Cassius of introducing mischievous and disadvantageous measures and of corrupting the populace, should then themselves by common consent ratify these measures as just and advantageous. He asked them also to bear in mind that even the gratitude of the poor, if they should divide up among themselves the public possessions, would not be shown to those who gave their consent and sanction to this law, but to Cassius alone, who had proposed it and was believed to have compelled the senators to ratify it against their will. After saying this and other things to the same purport, he ended by giving them this advice—to choose ten <sup>1</sup> of the most distinguished senators to go over the public land and fix its bounds, and if they found that any private persons were by fraud or force grazing or tilling any part of it, to take cognizance of this abuse and restore the land to the state. And he further advised that when the land thus delimited by them had been divided into allotments, of whatever number, and marked off by pillars duly inscribed, one part of it should be sold, particularly the part about which there was any dispute with private persons, so

ence (chap. 75, 3) to the proposed law seems to imply that the number ten has been already mentioned.

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ὥστε τοῖς ὠνησαμένοις εἶναι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιποιη-  
 σομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> κρίσεις, τὴν δὲ<sup>3</sup> πενταετῇ  
 μισθοῦν χρόνον· τὸ δὲ προσιὸν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων  
 ἀργύριον εἰς τοὺς ὀψωνιασμοὺς τῶν στρατευομένων  
 ἀναλοῦσθαι καὶ εἰς τὰς μισθώσεις ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι  
 4 χορηγιῶν δέονται. “Νῦν μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη,<sup>4</sup> “ὁ  
 φθόνος τῶν πενήτων ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὅσοι  
 σφετερισάμενοι τὰ κοινὰ διακατέχουσι, δίκαιός  
 ἐστι· καὶ οὐθὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ τὰ κοινὰ πάντας  
 διανείμασθαι μᾶλλον ἀξιούσιν ἢ τοὺς ἀναιδεσ-  
 τάτους τε καὶ ὀλίγους κατέχειν· ἐὰν δ’ ἀφιστα-  
 μένους αὐτῶν<sup>5</sup> ὀρώσι τοὺς νῦν καρπουμένους καὶ τὰ  
 κοινὰ ὄντως κοινὰ γινόμενα, παύσονται φθονοῦντες  
 ἡμῖν, τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς κατ’ ἄνδρα διανομῆς  
 τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπανήσουσι, μαθόντες ὅτι λυσιτελεσ-  
 τέρα τῆς μικρᾶς ἐκάστω μερίδος ἢ κοινὴ μετὰ  
 5 πάντων ἔσται κτήσις· διδάσκωμεν<sup>6</sup> γὰρ αὐτούς,”  
 ἔλεγεν, “ὅσον τὸ διάφορον, καὶ ὡς εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος  
 τῶν πενήτων γῆδιον οὐ μέγα λαβὼν καὶ εἰ τύχοι  
 γείτονας ὀχληροὺς ἔχων οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἔσται  
 τοῦτο γεωργεῖν δι’ ἀπορίαν, οὔτε τὸν μισθωσόμενον  
 ὅτι μὴ τὸν γείτονα εὐρήσει· εἰ δὲ μεγάλοι κλῆροι  
 ποικίλας τε καὶ ἀξιολόγους ἔχοντες γεωργοῖς ἐρ-  
 γασίας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ μισθοῖντο, πολλὰς οἴσουσι  
 προσόδους· καὶ ὅτι κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ὅταν  
 ἐξίωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους, ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου  
 ταμιείου τὸν ἐπισιτισμὸν τε καὶ ὀψωνιασμὸν  
 λαμβάνειν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον

<sup>1</sup> εἶναι O : οὐκ εἶναι Reiske, μὴ εἶναι Kayser, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν δὲ Kiessling, after Gelenius : καὶ A, om. B.

<sup>4</sup> ἔφη O : ἔφησεν Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> Reudler : αὐτῆς O, Jacoby.

that the purchasers might be involved in litigation over it with any who should lay claim to it, and the other part should be let for five years ; and that the money coming in from these rents should be used for the payment of the troops and the purchase of the supplies needed for the wars. " For, as things now stand," he said, " the envy of the poor against the rich who have appropriated and continue to occupy the public possessions is justified, and it is not at all to be wondered at if they demand that the public property should be divided among all the citizens rather than held by a few, and those the most shameless. Whereas, if they see the persons who are now enjoying them give them up and the public possessions become really public, they will cease to envy us and will give up their eagerness for the distribution of our fields to individuals, once they have learnt that joint ownership by all the citizens will be of greater advantage to them than the small portion that would be allotted to each. Let us show them, in fact," he said, " what a great difference it makes, and that if each one of the poor receives a small plot of ground and happens to have troublesome neighbours, he neither will be able to cultivate it himself, by reason of his poverty, nor will he find anyone to lease it of him but that neighbour, whereas if large allotments offering varied and worthwhile tasks for the husbandman are let by the state, they will bring in large revenues ; and that it is better for them, when they set out for the wars, to receive both their provisions and their pay from the public treasury than to pay in their individual contributions

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<sup>6</sup> διδάσκωμεν D : διδάσκομεν ABC.

<sup>7</sup> τὸν added by Reiske.

ἐκάστοτ'<sup>1</sup> εἰσφέρειν<sup>2</sup> τεθλιμμένων ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν βίων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ συμπορίζειν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπιβαρησομένων."

LXXIV. Ταύτην εἰσηγῆσαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου καὶ σφόδρα δόξαντος εὐδοκιμεῖν δεύτερος ἐρωτηθεὶς Αὖλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος ἔλεξεν.

"Ἀππίον μὲν οὐ νῦν ἔχω πρῶτον ἐπαινεῖν, ὡς φρονῆσαί τε ἰκανώτατον πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ γνώμας τὰς καλλίστας τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτας ἀποδεικνύμενον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ἀμετακίνητον ἐν τοῖς κριθείσι καὶ οὔτε φόβῳ εἴκοντα οὔτε χάρισιν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάζων διατελῶ τοῦ τε φρονίμου καὶ τῆς γενναιότητος ἣν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἔχει. γνώμην τε οὐχ ἑτέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν<sup>3</sup> ἀποδείκνυμαι, μικρὰ ἔτι προσθεὶς αὐτῇ, ἃ μοι παραλιπεῖν Ἀππίος<sup>2</sup> ἐδόκει. Ἑρρικας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λατίνους, οἷς νεωστὶ δεδώκαμεν τὴν ἰσοπολιτείαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς οἶμαι δεῖν κληρουχεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ οὗ προσῆλθον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἡμῖν ταύτην τὴν γῆν κτησάμενοι ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδύνοις οὐθενὸς ἄλλου προσωφελήσαντος ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἐχθρούς. ἀποκρινώμεθά<sup>4</sup> τε αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰς μὲν πρότερον ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν κτήσεις, ὅσας ἕκαστοι εἶχομεν ὅτε τὴν φιλίαν συνετιθέμεθα, ἰδίας τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτους ἐκάστοις δεῖ μένειν, ὅσων δ' ἂν ἀφ' οὗ τὰς συνθήκας ἐποιησάμεθα κοινῇ στρατεύσαντες ἐκ πολέμου κύριοι γενώμεθα, τούτων ὑπάρξει τὸ<sup>3</sup> ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις λάχος. ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἐκάστοτ' Post, ἕκαστον Reiske, Jacoby : ἐκάστου O.

<sup>2</sup> εἰσφέρειν added by Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν Reiske : ταύτην O, Jacoby.

each time to the treasury out of their private estates, when, as sometimes happens, their means of livelihood are scanty and will be still further cramped by providing this money."

LXXIV. After Appius had introduced this motion and appeared to win great approval, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who was called upon next, said :

" This is not the first time that I have had occasion to praise Appius as a man highly capable of grasping eventualities long in advance, and as one always offering the most excellent and useful opinions, a man who is firm and unshaken in his judgements and neither yields to fear nor is swayed by favour. For I have never ceased to praise and admire him both for his prudence and the noble spirit he shows in the presence of danger. And it is not a different motion that I offer, but I too make the same one, merely adding a few details which Appius seemed to me to omit. As regards the Hernicans and the Latins, to whom we recently granted equal rights of citizenship, I too think they ought not to share in the allotment of our lands ; for it was not after they entered into friendship with us that we acquired this land which we now occupy, but still earlier, when by our own perilous efforts, without the assistance of anyone else, we took it from our enemies. Let us give them this answer : that the possessions which each of us already had when we entered into the treaty of friendship must remain the peculiar and inalienable property of each, but that in the case of all that we may come to possess through war when taking the field together, from the time we made the treaty, each shall have his share. For this arrangement will

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<sup>4</sup> ἀποκρινώμεθά Βα : ἀποκρινόμεθα R.

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συμμαχοῖς ὡς ἀδικουμένοις ὀργῆς παρέξει δικαίας  
 προφάσεις, οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ δέος μὴ δόξη τὰ κερδαλέω-  
 τερα πρὸ τῶν εὐπρεπεστέρων<sup>1</sup> αἰρεῖσθαι. τῇ τε  
 αἰρέσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὕς "Αππιος ἡξίου ὀριστὰς  
 γενέσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς πάνυ εὐδοκῶ. πολλὴν  
 γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτο οἶσει παρρησίαν πρὸς τοὺς δημοτι-  
 κούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἄχθονται κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, καὶ ὅτι  
 αὐτοὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐθὲν ἀπολαύουσι κτημάτων,  
 καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν τινες οὐ δικαίως αὐτὰ καρποῦνται.  
 εἰάν δὲ δημοσιωθέντα ἴδωσι καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 προσόδους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανωμένας,  
 οὐδὲν ὑπολήφονται σφίσι διαφέρειν τῆς γῆς ἢ τῶν  
 4 ἐξ αὐτῆς καρπῶν μετέχειν. ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τῶν  
 ἀπόρων ἐνίους μᾶλλον εὐφραίνουσιν αἱ ἀλλότριαι  
 βλάβαι τῶν ιδίων ὠφελειῶν. οὐ μὲν ἀποχρῆν γε  
 οἶομαι τούτων ἐκάτερον ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γραφέν,<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἄλλης τινὸς οἶομαι δεῖν θεραπείας  
 μετρίας τὸν δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαί τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν.  
 ἦν μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρῶ, τὴν αἰτίαν πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἀπο-  
 δειξάμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν καὶ  
 τοῦτο πρακτέον ἡμῖν.

LXXV. "Ἰστε δῆπου τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ῥη-  
 θέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου λόγους, ὅτε ἤρετο τῶν  
 ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον τοῦτον Οὐεργίνιον ἦντινα γνώ-  
 μην ἔχει περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας, πότερα τοῖς μὲν  
 πολίταις συγχωρεῖ διανέμειν τὰ δημόσια, τοῖς δὲ  
 συμμαχοῖς οὐκ ἔα, ἢ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 οὐδ' ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖ μέρος λαγχάνειν. καὶ οὗτος  
 ὠμολόγησε τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέρος οὐ κωλύειν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : εὐπρεπεστάτων O.

<sup>2</sup> γραφέν O : γράφειν Cobet, Jacoby. For this somewhat rare use of the participle cf. i. 6, 3; ix. 32, 1; 43, 1.



neither afford our allies any just excuses for anger, as being wronged, nor cause the populace any fear of appearing to prefer their own interests to their good name. As to the appointment of the men proposed by Appius to delimit the public land, I quite agree with him. For this will afford us great frankness in dealing with the plebeians, since they are now displeased on both accounts—because they themselves reap no benefit from the public possessions and because some of us enjoy them contrary to justice. But if they see them restored to the public and the revenues therefrom applied to the necessary uses of the commonwealth, they will not suppose that it makes any difference to them whether it is the land or its produce that they share. I need not mention, of course, that some of the poor are more delighted with the losses of others than with their own advantages. However, I do not regard the entering of these two provisions in the decree as enough; but we ought in my opinion to gain the goodwill of the populace and relieve them by another moderate favour also, one which I shall presently name, after I have first shown you the reason, or rather the necessity, for our doing this also.

LXXV. “ You are aware, no doubt, of the words spoken by the tribune in the assembly when he asked one of the consuls, Verginius here, what his opinion was concerning the allotment of the land, whether he consented to divide the public possessions among the citizens but not among the allies, or would not consent that even we should receive a share of what belongs to us all in common. And Verginius admitted that he was not attempting to hinder the allotting of the



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κληρουχίας, ἐὰν ἅπασιν<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι δοκῇ· καὶ ἡ συγχώρησις ἥδε τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν συναγωνιστὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιεικέστερον.

2 τί οὖν μαθόντες,<sup>2</sup> ἃ τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν, νῦν ἀναθησόμεθα; ἢ τί πλέον ἡμῖν ἔσται τὰ γενναῖα καὶ τὰ καλὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ ἄξια τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολιτευομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ πείθωμεν τοὺς χρησομένους; οὐ πείσομεν δέ, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ. χαλεπώτερα<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἂν, τῶν μὴ τυγχανόντων, ἀποργισθεῖεν<sup>4</sup> οἱ ψευσθέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα μὴ κομιζόμενοι. οἰχήσεται δὴ πάλιν φέρων αὐτοὺς ὁ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν πολιτευόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν δημο-

3 ἀρχων τις ἔτι μεθ' ἡμῶν στήσεται. τί οὖν ὑμῖν πράττειν παραινῶ καὶ τί προστίθημι τῇ Ἀππίου γνώμῃ, μάθετε, ἀλλὰ μὴ προεξαναστῆτε μηδὲ θορυβήσητε πρὶν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε ἃ λέγω. τοῖς αἰρεθησομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς χώρας καὶ περιορισμόν, εἴτε δέκα ἀνδράσιν εἴθ' ὅσοισιδήποτε, ἐπιτρέψατε διαγνῶναι τίνα τε αὐτῆς δεῖ καὶ ὁπόσῃν κοινὴν εἶναι πάντων καὶ κατὰ πενταετίαν μισθομένην αὔξειν τὰς τοῦ ταμείου προσόδους· ὁπόσῃν τ' αὖ καὶ ἦντινα τοῖς δημόταις ἡμῶν διαιρεθῆναι· ἦν δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κληροῦχον ἀποδείξωσι γῆν, ὑμᾶς διαγνόντας εἴθ' ἅπασιν εἴθ' οἷς δὴ οὐκέτ' ἔστι κλῆρος εἴτε τοῖς ἐλάχιστον ἔχουσι τίμημα εἴθ'

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby : πᾶσι O.

<sup>2</sup> μαθόντες R : παθόντες C.

<sup>3</sup> χαλεπώτερα Bb : χαλεπώτεροι R.

<sup>4</sup> Post : ἀποτίσειαν O, Jacoby.

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<sup>1</sup> The verb given by the MSS. is almost certainly corrupt; for the meaning "take vengeance" the middle voice of that verb is wanted. Post's emendation is very attractive

land so far as it related to us Romans, if this seemed best to everybody. This concession not only caused the tribunes to espouse our cause, but also rendered the populace more reasonable. What has come over us, then, that we are now to change our mind about what we then conceded? Or what advantage shall we gain by pursuing our noble and excellent principles of government, principles worthy of our supremacy, if we cannot persuade those who are to make use of them? But we shall not persuade them, and this not one of you fails to know. For, of all who fail to get what they want, those will feel the harshest resentment<sup>1</sup> who are cheated of their hopes and are not getting what has been agreed upon. Surely the politician whose principle it is to please will run off with them again, and after that not one even of the tribunes will stand by us. Hear, therefore, what I advise you to do, and the amendment I add to the motion of Appius; but do not rise up or create any disturbance before you have heard all I have to say. After you have appointed commissioners, whether ten or whatever number, to inspect the land and fix its boundaries, empower them to determine which and how great a part of it should be held in common and, by being let for five years, increase the revenues of the treasury, and again, how great a part and which should be divided among our plebeians. And whatever land they appoint to be allotted you should allot after determining whether it shall be distributed among all the citizens, or among those who have no land as yet, or among those who have the lowest property rating, or in whatever manner you shall

in the light of the somewhat similar passage in v. 67, 2; see also viii. 89, 3.

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ὅπως ἂν βούλησθε κατανεῖμαι· τοὺς δ' ὀριστὰς αὐτῆς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ψήφισμα, ὃ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ἐξοίσετε, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενός ἐστι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, τοὺς εἰσιόντας ὑπάτους, ὥς ἂν  
 4 αὐτοῖς κράτιστα δοκῇ ἔξειν, ἐπιτελέσαι. οὔτε γὰρ ὀλίγων τηλικαῦτα πράγματα δεῖται χρόνων, οὔτε ἢ νῦν στασιάζουσα ἀρχὴ φρονιμώτερον ἂν καταμάθοι τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς μετ' αὐτὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀποδειχθησομένης, ἔαν ἐκείνη γε, ὥσπερ ἐλπίζομεν, ὁμονοῇ. χρήσιμον δὲ πρᾶγμα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἥκιστα σφαλερὸν ἀναβολή, καὶ πολλὰ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μετατίθῃσι· καὶ τὸ μὴ στασιάζον ἐν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αἴτιον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἀποφαίνομαι γνώμην· εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο κρεῖττον εἰσηγεῖται, λεγέτω."

LXXVI. Πausαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐθεὶς τῶν μετ' ἐκείνον ἐρωτηθέντων ἑτέραν γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται· γράφεται δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τοιόνδε· ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν αἰρεθῆναι<sup>2</sup> δέκα τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, οἵτινες ὀρίσαντες τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν ἀποδείξουσιν ὅσῃν τε δεῖ μισθοῦσθαι καὶ ὅσῃν τῷ  
 2 δῆμῳ διαιρεθῆναι· τοῖς δ' ἰσοπολίταις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, ἐάν τινα ὕστερον ἐπικτήσωνται κοινῇ στρατευσάμενοι, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ὑπάρχειν μέρος· τὴν δ' αἶρεσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῶν κλήρων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι τοὺς εἰσιόντας ἐπιτελέσαι ὑπάτους.

<sup>1</sup> μετ' αὐτὴν Kiessling : μεθ' ἑαυτὴν A, μετὰ ταύτην B.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby : ἀποδειχθῆναι R(?), om. AB.

think proper. As regards the men who are to fix the bounds of the land and the decree you will publish concerning its division and everything else that is necessary, I advise, since the present consuls have but a short time to continue in office, that their successors shall carry out these purposes in such manner as they think will be for the best. For not only do matters of such moment require no little time, but the present consuls, who are at variance, can hardly be expected to show greater insight in discovering what is advantageous than their successors, if, as we hope, the latter shall be harmonious. For delay is in many cases a useful thing and anything but dangerous, and time brings about many changes in a single day; furthermore, the absence of dissension among those who preside over the public business is the cause of all the blessings enjoyed by states. As for me, this is the opinion I have to express; but if anyone has anything better to propose, let him speak."

LXXVI. When Sempronius had ended, there was much applause from those present, and not one of the senators who were asked their opinion after him expressed any different view. Thereupon the decree of the senate was drawn up to this effect: that the ten oldest ex-consuls should be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land and to declare how much of it ought to be let and how much divided among the people; that those enjoying the rights of citizens and the allies, in case they later acquired more land by a joint campaign, should each have their allotted share, according to the treaties; and that the appointment of the decemvirs, the distribution of the allotments, and everything else that was necessary should be carried out by the incoming

τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεχθὲν τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἔπαυσε τῆς δημαγωγίας, καὶ τὴν ἀναρριπιζομένην ἐκ τῶν πενήτων στάσιν οὐκ εἴασε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν.

LXXVII. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐνεστώσης, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀστυλος Συρακούσιος, Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχων ἦν Λεώστρατος, Κοῖντου Φαβίου καὶ Σερουτίου Κορνηλίου τὴν ὑπατείαν παρειληφότων, ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων νέοι μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιφανέστατοι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ γ' <sup>1</sup> ἀξιώσεις προγόνων, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐταιρίας τε καὶ πλούτους μέγα δυνάμενοι, καὶ ὥς νέοι τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ χειρὺς, Καίσιων Φάβιος, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας, ἀδελφὸς <sup>2</sup> τοῦ καταλύσαντος τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τὴν ταμιευτικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκκλησίαν συνάγειν ὄντες κύριοι, τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ Σπόριον Κάσσιον καὶ τολμήσαντα τοὺς περὶ τῆς διανομῆς εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμους εἰσήγγειλαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τυραννίδος αἰτία· καὶ προειπόντες ἡμέραν ῥητὴν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ὥς ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν δίκην ἀπο-  
<sup>2</sup> λογησόμενον. ὄχλου δὲ πλείστου συναχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τά τε ἐμφανῆ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα ὥς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρηστῷ γενόμενα διεξήεσαν· ὅτι Λατίνοις μὲν πρῶτον, οἷς ἀπέχρη πολιτείας κοινῆς ἀξιωθῆναι, μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγουμένοις εἰ καὶ ταύτης

<sup>1</sup> γε Steph.<sup>2</sup> : τε O.

<sup>2</sup> ἀδελφιδοῦς or ἀδελφόπαις Glareanus.

consuls. When this decree was laid before the populace, it not only put a stop to the demagoguery of Cassius, but also prevented the sedition that was being rekindled by the poor from going any farther.

LXXVII. The following year,<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of the seventy-fourth Olympiad (the one at which Astylus of Syracuse won the foot-race), when Leostратus was archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius had succeeded to the consulship, two patricians, young indeed in years, but the most distinguished of their body because of the prestige of their ancestors, men of great influence both on account of their bands of supporters and because of their wealth, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their ability in civil affairs, namely, Caeso Fabius, brother of the then consul, and Lucius Valerius Publicola, brother <sup>2</sup> to the man who overthrew the kings, being quaestors at the same time and therefore having authority to assemble the populace, denounced before them Spurius Cassius, the consul of the preceding year, who had dared to propose the laws concerning the distribution of land, charging him with having aimed at tyranny; and appointing a day, they summoned him to make his defence before the populace. When a very large crowd had assembled upon the day appointed, the two quaestors called the multitude together in assembly, and recounting all his overt actions, showed that they were calculated for no good purpose. First, in the case of the Latins, who would have been content with being accounted worthy of a common citizenship with the Romans, esteeming it a great piece of good luck to

<sup>1</sup> 483 B.C. For chaps. 77-79 *cf.* Livy ii. 41, 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> Or, more probably, nephew, as Glareanus preferred.



τύχοιεν, οὐ μόνον ἦν ἥτουν πολιτείαν<sup>1</sup> ὕπατος ὦν ἐχαρίσατο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων, ἐὰν κοινῇ γένηται στρατεία, τὴν τρίτην ἐψηφίσατο δίδοσθαι. ἔπειτα Ἑρνικας, οὓς πολέμῳ χειρωθέντας ἀγαπᾶν ἐχρῆν εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> χώρας ἀφαιρέσει τινὶ ζημιωθεῖεν, φίλους μὲν ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ἐποίησε, πολίτας δ' ἀνθ' ὑποτελῶν, γῆς τε καὶ λείας ἦν ἂν ἐκ παντὸς κτήσωνται τὴν ἑτέραν  
 3 ἔταξε λαμβάνειν τρίτην μερίδα. ὥστε μεριζομένων εἰς τρεῖς κλήρους τῶν λαφύρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπηκόους τε καὶ ἐπήλυδας διμοιρίας λαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας τρίτην μερίδα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυεῖν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων θάτερον ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς συμβησόμενον, ἐὰν τινας ἑτέρους διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας προέλωνται ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμῆσαι δωρεαῖς αἷς Λατίνους τε ἐτίμησαν καὶ τοὺς μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἀποδειξαμένους Ἑρνικας. μιᾶς γὰρ καταλειπομένης αὐτοῖς τρίτης μερίδος, ἣ οὐχ ἕξειν ὅ τι δώσουσιν ἐκείνοις μέρος, ἣ τὰ ὅμοια ψηφισαμένους μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς καταλείψειν.

LXXVIII. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διεξήεσαν ὅτι δημεῦσαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαλόμενος,<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οὔτε τῷ συννυπάτῳ δοκοῦν, βία κυροῦν ἐμέλλησε τὸν νόμον, ὃς οὐ καθ' ἑν τοῦτο μόνον ἦν ἀσύμφορός τε καὶ ἄδικος, ὅτι προβουλευ-

<sup>1</sup> πολιτείαν BCmg : ὑπατείαν AC, ἰσοπολιτείαν Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν Post : αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : ἐπιβαλλόμενος O.



get even so much, he had as consul not only bestowed on them the citizenship they asked for, but had furthermore caused a vote to be passed that they should be given also the third part of the spoils of war on the occasion of any joint campaign. Again, in the case of the Hernicans, who, having been subdued in war, ought to have been content not to be punished by the loss of some part of their territory, he had made them friends instead of subjects, and citizens instead of tributaries, and had ordered that they should receive the second third of any land and booty that the Romans might acquire from any source. Thus the spoils were to be divided into three portions, the subjects of the Romans and aliens receiving two of them and the natives and dominant race the third part. They pointed out that as a result of this procedure one or the other of two most absurd situations would come about in case they should choose to honour any other nation, in return for many great services, by granting the same privileges with which they had honoured not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had never done them the least service. For, as there would be but one third left for them, they would either have no part to bestow upon their benefactors or, if they granted them the like favour, they would leave nothing for themselves.

LXXVIII. Besides this they went on to relate that Cassius, in proposing to give to the people the common possessions of the state without a decree of the senate or the consent of his colleague, had intended to get the law passed by force—a law that was inexpedient and unjust, not for this reason alone, that, though the senate ought to have considered the measure first,

σαι δέον τὸ συνέδριον καί, εἰ δόξειεν ἐκείνῳ, κοινὴν  
 ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἐν τέλει τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν,  
 2 ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐποίει τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ'  
 ἐκείνο τὸ πάντων σχετλιώτατον, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν  
 δόσις ἦν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, ἔργῳ  
 δ' ἀφαίρεσις, Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν κτησαμένων αὐ-  
 τὴν μίαν μοῖραν ληψομένων, Ἑρνίκων δὲ καὶ  
 Λατίνων, οἷς οὐθὲν αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> μετῆν, τὰς δύο· καὶ ὥς  
 οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐναντιωθεῖσι καὶ παραλύειν ἐκ  
 τοῦ νόμου θάτερον ἀξιοῦσι μέρος τὸ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἰσομοιρίαν τῶν ἐπηλύδων ἐπείσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημ-  
 ἀρχοις καὶ συννύπτῳ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένοις τάναν-  
 3 τία πράττων διετέλεσε. διεξελθόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ  
 μάρτυρας αὐτῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ποιησά-  
 μενοι, μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους τῆς  
 τυραννίδος παρείχοντο πίστει, ὥς χρήματά τε  
 συνενέγκαιεν αὐτῷ Λατῖνοι καὶ Ἑρνικες καὶ ὅπλα  
 παρασκευάσαιντο καὶ συμπορεύοιντο ὥς αὐτὸν οἱ  
 θρασύτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέων ἀπόρρητά τε  
 ποιούμενοι βουλευτήρια· καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις  
 ἕτερα ὑπηρετοῦντες· καὶ παρείχοντο τοὺς τούτων  
 μάρτυρας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀστούς, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν  
 ἄλλων συμμαχίδων πόλεων, οὔτε φαύλους οὔτε  
 4 ἀφανεῖς. οἷς ἐπίστευσεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ οὔτε λόγοις  
 ἔτι ὑπαχθεῖς οὓς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς  
 συγκειμένους διέθετο, οὔτε οἴκτω ἐνδοὺς τριῶν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> οἷς οὐθὲν αὐτῆς Kiessling : ἧς οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς O, Jacoby.  
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and, in case they approved of it, it ought to have been a joint concession on the part of all the authorities, he was making it the favour of one man, but also for the further reason—the most outrageous of all—that, though it was in name a grant of the public land to the citizens, it was in reality a deprivation, since the Romans, who had acquired it, were to receive but one third, while the Hernicans and the Latins, who had no claim to it at all, would get the other two thirds. They further charged that even when the tribunes opposed him and asked him to strike out the part of the law granting equal shares to the aliens, he had paid no heed to them, but continued to act in opposition to the tribunes, to his colleague, to the senate, and to all who consulted the best interests of the commonwealth. After they had enumerated these charges and named as witnesses to their truth the whole body of the citizens, they then at length proceeded to present the secret evidences<sup>1</sup> of his having aimed at tyranny, showing that the Latins and the Hernicans had contributed money to him and provided themselves with arms, and that the most daring young men from their cities were resorting to him, making secret plans, and serving him in many other ways besides. And to prove the truth of these charges they produced many witnesses, both residents of Rome and others from the cities in alliance with her, persons who were neither mean nor obscure. In these the populace put confidence; and without either being moved now by the speech which the man delivered—a speech which he had prepared with much care,—or yielding to compassion when

<sup>1</sup> In place of “ secret evidences ” we should expect “ secret actions,” as contrasted with his “ overt actions ” (chap. 77, 2).

αὐτῷ παίδων μεγάλην παρεχόντων εἰς ἔλεον ἐπικουρίαν, πολλῶν<sup>1</sup> δ' ἄλλων συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἐταίρων συνολοφυρομένων, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργων, δι' οὓς<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ἦλθε τιμῆς, φειδῶ  
 5 λαβῶν<sup>3</sup> τινα, καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην. οὕτως τε ἄρα ἦν πικρὸς πρὸς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα ὥστε οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τιμήματι τῆς δίκης μετρία ὀργῇ ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου ἐτίμησεν. εἰσῆει γὰρ αὐτὸν δέος μὴ φυγὰς ἐλαθεῖς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνὴρ στρατηγῆσαι πολέμους τῶν τότε δεινότατος ὅμοια δράσῃ Μαρκίῳ τὰ τε φίλια διαβάλλων<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ συνιστὰς καὶ πόλεμον ἄσπειστον ἐπαγάγῃ<sup>5</sup> τῇ πατρίδι. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῆς δίκης λαβούσης ἀγαγόντες οἱ ταμίαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρημνόν, ἀπάντων ὁρῶντων ἔρριψαν κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀλόντων ἡ κόλασις.

LXXIX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτερος τῶν παραδεδομένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγων τοιόσδε ἐστίν· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡσσον πιθανόν, ἐπειδὴ κακείνος πεπίστευται ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀξιοχρέοις φέρεται, μὴ παρελθεῖν. λέγεται δὴ τισιν ὥς, ἀδήλου πᾶσιν οὔσης ἔτι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσκευαζομένης τυραννίδος, πρῶτος ὑποπτεύσας ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης βασάνου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάσας ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν· ἔπειτα κελεύσας ἐλθεῖν τὸν υἱὸν μηνυτῆς τε καὶ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καταγνούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀγαγὼν  
 2 αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκτεινε. τὸ μὲν οὖν πικρὸν

<sup>1</sup> πολλῶν Cmg : πολλὴν ABC.

<sup>2</sup> δι' οὓς O : δι' ᾧ Kiessling. <sup>3</sup> λαβῶν ACmg : om. BC.

his three young sons contributed much to his appeal for sympathy and many others, both relations and friends, joined in bewailing his fate, or paying any regard to his exploits in war, by which he had attained to the greatest honour, they condemned him. Indeed, they were so exasperated at the name of tyranny that they did not moderate their resentment even in the degree of his punishment, but sentenced him to death. For they were afraid that if a man who was the ablest general of his time should be driven from his country into exile, he might follow the example of Marcius in dividing his own people and uniting their enemies, and bring a relentless war upon his country. This being the outcome of his trial, the quaestors led him to the top of the precipice that overlooks the Forum and in the presence of all the citizens hurled him down from the rock. For this was the traditional punishment at that time among the Romans for those who were condemned to death.

LXXIX. Such is the more probable of the accounts that have been handed down concerning this man ; but I must not omit the less probable version, since this also has been believed by many and is recorded in histories of good authority. It is said, then, by some that while the plan of Cassius to make himself tyrant was as yet concealed from all the world, his father was the first to suspect him, and that after making the strictest inquiry into the matter he went to the senate ; then, ordering his son to appear, he became both informer and accuser, and when the senate also had condemned him, he took him home and put him to death. The harsh and inexorable

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<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : διαβαλὼν O.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπαγάγη A : ἐπάγοι B.

καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὀργῆς εἰς υἱοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἀδικοῦντας καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀπωθεῖται τὴν ἀπόφασιν<sup>2</sup>. ἐπεὶ καὶ πρότερον Βροῦτος ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐδικαίωσε κατὰ τὸν τῶν κακούργων νόμον ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ πελέκεσι τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, ὅτι συμπράττειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μάλλιος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον<sup>3</sup> στρατηγῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ πόλεμον τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας ἔνεκα τοῖς ἀριστείοις στεφάνοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἀπείθειαν δ' ἐπικαλῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθη φρουρίῳ ἔμεινεν ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐξῆλθεν ἀγωνιούμενος, ὡς λιποτάκτην ἀπέκτεινε.

3 καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ πατέρες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ μείζουσιν αἰτίαις, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐλάττοσιν, οὔτε φειδῶ τῶν παίδων οὔτε ἔλεον ἔσχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, ὥσπερ ἔφην, προβεβλῆσθαι τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀπίθανον· ἐκεῖνα δέ με ἀνθέλκει τεκμηρίων ὄντα οὔτ' ἐλάχιστα οὔτ' ἀπίθανα<sup>4</sup> καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἄγει συγκατάθεσιν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κασσίου ἢ τε οἰκία κατεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀνεῖται ὁ τόπος αὐτῆς αἶθριος ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Γῆς, ὃν ὑστέροις ἢ πόλις κατεσκεύασε χρόνοις ἐν μέρει τινὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνέλαβεν· ἐξ ὧν ἀπαρχὰς ἐν ἄλλοις τε ἱεροῖς ἀνέθηκε καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρει

<sup>1</sup> υἱοὺς Sintenis, following Sylburg : τοὺς O.

<sup>2</sup> Sintenis : πρόφασιν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Μάλλιος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον Jacoby : μάλλιος ἐν τῷ γαλατικῷ πολέμῳ O.

<sup>4</sup> οὔτ' ἀπίθανα A : om. R.

<sup>1</sup> The noun is uncertain, as the MSS. give a corrupt form.



anger of fathers against their offending sons, particularly among the Romans of that time, does not permit us to reject even this account.<sup>1</sup> For earlier Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his sons to die in accordance with the law concerning malefactors, and they were beheaded because they were believed to have been helping to bring about the restoration of the kings.<sup>2</sup> And at a later time Manlius, when he was commander in the Gallic war and his son distinguished himself in battle, honoured him, indeed, for his bravery with the crowns given for superior valour, but at the same time accused him of disobedience in not staying in the fort in which he was posted but leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to take part in the struggle ; and he put him to death as a deserter. And many other fathers, some for greater and others for lesser faults, have shown neither mercy nor compassion to their sons. For this reason I do not feel, as I said, that this account should be rejected as improbable. But the following considerations, which are arguments of no small weight and are not lacking in probability, draw me in the other direction and lead me to agree with the first tradition. In the first place, after the death of Cassius his house was razed to the ground and to this day its site remains vacant, except for that part of it on which the state afterwards built the temple of Tellus, which stands in the street leading to the Carinae ; and again, his goods were confiscated by the state, which dedicated first-offerings from them in various temples, especially the bronze statues to Ceres, which by their

The word used by Dionysius here was clearly not λόγος, his usual word for "account."

<sup>2</sup> See v. 8.



τοὺς χαλκέους ἀνδριάντας ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντας  
 4 ἀφ' ὧν εἰσι χρημάτων ἀπαρχαί. εἰ δέ γε ὁ πατὴρ  
 μηνυτὴς τε καὶ κατήγορος καὶ κολαστὴς αὐτοῦ  
 ἐγένετο, οὐτ' ἂν ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη οὔτε ἡ  
 οὐσία ἐδημεύθη. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ οὐθὲν ἴδιόν ἐστι  
 κτῆμα ζώντων ἔτι τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ  
 χρήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν παίδων ὅ τι βούλονται  
 διατιθέναι τοῖς πατράσιν ἀποδέδοται. ὥστε οὐκ  
 ἂν δῆπου τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν τοῦ μηνύσαντος  
 τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδικήμασιν ἀφ-  
 αιρεῖσθαι καὶ δημεύειν ἡ πόλις ἠξίου. διὰ μὲν δὴ  
 ταῦτα τῷ προτέρῳ συγκατατίθεμαι τῶν λόγων  
 μᾶλλον· ἔθηκα δ' ἀμφοτέροισι, ἵνα ἐξῇ τοῖς ἀναγνω-  
 σιμένοις ὁποτέρῳ βούλονται τῶν λόγων προσέχειν.

LXXX. Ἐπιβαλλομένων δέ τινων καὶ τοὺς παῖ-  
 δας ἀποκτείνειν τοῦ Κασσίου δεινὸν τὸ ἔθος ἔδοξεν  
 εἶναι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀσύμφορον· καὶ συνελθοῦσα  
 ἐψηφίσατο ἀφεῖσθαι τὰ μειράκια τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ  
 ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ ζῆν, μήτε φυγῇ μήτε ἀτιμία μήτε  
 ἄλλῃ συμφορᾷ ζημιωθέντα. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔθος  
 τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριον γέγονεν ἕως τῆς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς διατηρούμενον ἡλικίας, ἀφεῖσθαι τιμωρίας  
 ἀπάσης τοὺς παῖδας ὧν ἂν οἱ πατέρες ἀδικήσωσιν,  
 εἴαν τε τυράννων ὄντες υἱοὶ τύχωσιν, εἴαν τε πατρο-  
 κτόνων, εἴαν τε προδοτῶν, ὃ μέγιστόν ἐστι παρ'  
 2 ἐκείνοις ἀδίκημα. οἳ τε καταλύσαι τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο  
 ἐπιβαλόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους μετὰ  
 τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ τε καὶ ἐμφυλίου

<sup>1</sup> The inscription read, according to Livy (ii. 41, 10) : EX CASSIA FAMILIA DATUM.

<sup>2</sup> The Social War and the Sullan War. The former was  
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inscriptions <sup>1</sup> show of whose possessions they are the first-offerings. But if his father had been at once the informer, the accuser and the executioner of his son, neither his house would have been razed nor his estate confiscated. For the Romans have no property of their own while their fathers are still living, but fathers are permitted to dispose both of the goods and the persons of their sons as they wish. Consequently the state surely would never have seen fit, because of the crimes of the son, to take away and confiscate the estate of his father who had given information of his plan to set up a tyranny. For these reasons, therefore, I agree rather with the former of the two accounts ; but I have given both, to the end that my readers may adopt whichever one they please.

LXXX. When the attempt was made by some to put to death the sons of Cassius also, the senators looked upon the custom as cruel and harmful ; and having assembled, they voted that the penalty should be remitted in the case of the boys and that they should live in complete security, being punished by neither banishment, disfranchisement, nor any other misfortune. And from that time this custom has become established among the Romans and is observed down to our day, that the sons shall be exempt from all punishment for any crimes committed by their fathers, whether they happen to be the sons of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors—treason being among the Romans the greatest crime. And those who attempted to abolish this custom in our times, after the end of the Marsic and civil wars,<sup>2</sup>

usually called *bellum Marsicum* (or *Italicum*) by Roman writers of the following two centuries.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πολέμου, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἐπὶ Σύλλα πατέρων ἀφελόμενοι τὸ μετιέναι τὰς πατρίους ἀρχὰς καὶ βουλῆς μετέχειν καθ' ὃν ἐδυνάστευον αὐτοὶ χρόνον, ἐπίφθονόν τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ νεμεσητὸν θεοῖς ἔργον ἔδοξαν ἀποδείξασθαι. τοιγάρτοι δίκη μὲν ἐκείνοις σὺν χρόνῳ τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτή παρηκολούθησε, δι' ἣν ἐκ μεγίστου τέως<sup>1</sup> αὐχήματος εἰς ταπεινότατον πτῶμα κατήχθησαν,<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γυναικας  
 3 ἔτι λείπεται· τὸ δ' ἔθος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ὁ τούτους καθελὼν ἀνὴρ ἀποκατέστησε. παρ' Ἑλλησι δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐνίοις ὁ νόμος ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ τυράννων γενομένους οἱ μὲν συναποκτίννυσθαι τοῖς πατράσι δικαιοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἀειφυγία κολάζουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῆς φύσεως χρηστοὺς παῖδας ἐκ πονηρῶν πατέρων ἢ κακοὺς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων εἴτε ὁ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀμείνων νόμος εἴτε τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθος

<sup>1</sup> Reiske : τε O.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : ἤχθησαν O.

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<sup>1</sup> It was Julius Caesar (Dio Cassius xli. 18; Suetonius, *Iul.* 41) who restored to the "children of the proscribed" their civil rights of which they had been deprived by Sulla (Plutarch, *Sulla* 31); in the intervening period of more than three decades neither the aristocratic nor the popular party had offered to relieve them of their disability. Dionysius in describing the fate of those who had kept them from holding office while they themselves were in power seems to have had Pompey particularly in mind, though he probably wished his words to be understood in general of the men prominently identified with the Sullan régime. The description might even apply to the family of Sulla, regarded as a dynasty;

and took away from the sons of fathers who had been proscribed under Sulla the privilege of standing for the magistracies held by their fathers and of being members of the senate as long as their own domination lasted, were regarded as having done a thing deserving both the indignation of men and the vengeance of the gods. Accordingly, in the course of time a justifiable retribution dogged their steps as the avenger of their crimes, by which the perpetrators were reduced from the greatest height of glory they had once enjoyed to the lowest depths, and not even their posterity, except of the female line, now survives; but the custom was restored to its original status by the man who brought about their destruction.<sup>1</sup> Among some of the Greeks, however, this is not the practice, but certain of them think it proper to put to death the sons of tyrants together with their fathers; and others punish them with perpetual banishment, as if Nature would not permit virtuous sons to be the offspring of wicked fathers or evil sons of good fathers. But concerning these matters, I leave to the consideration of anyone who is so minded the question whether the practice prevalent among the Greeks is better or the custom of the Romans

Sulla himself did not experience a reversal of fortune, but his son Faustus was defeated and slain by Caesar's forces, and with him ended the male line of Sulla's descendants, even as Pompey's male line terminated with the death of his son Sextus. For some reason or other Dionysius forbore to mention by name any of the prominent Romans after Sulla, with the exception of a reference to the defeat of Crassus (ii. 6, 4) and mention of Augustus and his stepson Claudius Nero (the later emperor Tiberius) merely as a means of dating events (i. 7, 2; 3, 4). Another conspicuous example of this reluctance to name people prominent in his own times is found below in chap. 87, 7 f. See also i. 70, 4 and note.

κρεῖττον, ἀφίημι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν· ἐπάνειμι δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

LXXXI. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Κασσίου θάνατον οἱ μὲν αὐξάνοντες τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν θρασύτεροί τε καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν· οἱ δ' ἐν ἀφανεί τῆς δόξης<sup>1</sup> φερόμενοι καὶ βίου<sup>2</sup> εἰς ταπεινὰ συνεστάλησαν, καὶ ὡς ἄριστον ἀπολωλεκότες φύλακα τῆς δημοτικῆς μερίδος πολλὴν ἄνοιαν ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ κατηγόρουں.<sup>3</sup> τούτου δ' αἴτιον ἦν ὅτι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας οὐκ ἔπραττον οἱ ὕπατοι, δέον αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας τε ἀποδείξαι δέκα τοὺς ὀριοῦντας τὴν γῆν καὶ γνώμην εἰσηγήσασθαι πόσῃν τε αὐτῆς καὶ τίσι<sup>2</sup> δεήσει νεμηθῆναι. συνήεσαν τε πολλοὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐκάστοτε διαλεγόμενοι, καὶ ἐν αἰτία τοὺς προτέρους εἶχον δημάρχους ὡς προδεδωκότας τὸ κοινόν· ἐκκλησίαι τε συνεχεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε δημάρχων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς ὑποσχέσεως. ταῦτα συνιδόντες οἱ ὕπατοι γνώμην ἐποιήσαντο πολέμων προφάσει τὸ παρακινοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος καὶ ταραττόμενον καταστεῖλαι<sup>4</sup>. ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ληστηρίοις τε ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων καὶ καταδρομαῖς τισιν ἢ<sup>3</sup> γῇ βλαπτομένη. τιμωρίας μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἔνεκα προὔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου σημεῖα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς πόλεως κατέγραφον· οὐ προσιόντων δὲ τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν ἀπόρων ἀδύνατοι ὄντες τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκην τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι προσφέρειν (προειστήκεσαν γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ δήμαρχοι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τῆς δόξης Kiessling : τε δόξη AB, τῇ δόξῃ C.

<sup>2</sup> βίου C : βίῳ R.

<sup>3</sup> κατεγίνωσκον Prou.

<sup>4</sup> καταστεῖλαι ACmg : om. R.

is superior; and I now return to the events that followed.

LXXXI. After the death of Cassius<sup>1</sup> those who sought to extend the power of the aristocracy had grown more daring and more contemptuous of the plebeians, while those of obscure reputation and fortune were humbled and abased, and feeling that they had lost the best guardian of the plebeian order, accused themselves of great folly in having condemned him. The reason for this was that the consuls were not carrying out the decree of the senate regarding the allotting of the land, though it was their duty to appoint the decemvirs to fix the boundaries of the land and to present a proposal as to how much of it ought to be distributed, and to whom. Many met in groups, always discussing this duplicity and accusing the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth; and there were continual meetings of the assembly called by the tribunes then in office, and demands for the fulfilment of the promise. The consuls, perceiving this, determined to repress the turbulent and disorderly element in the city, taking the wars as a pretext. For it chanced that their territory was at that very time harassed by bands of robbers and forays from the neighbouring cities. To punish these aggressors, then, they brought out the war standards and began to enrol the forces of the commonwealth. And when the poor did not come forward to enlist, the consuls, being unable to make use of the compulsion of the laws against the disobedient—for the tribunes defended the plebeians

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 81-82, 4 *cf.* Livy ii. 42, 1.



κωλύσειν ἔμελλον, εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἢ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐκλειπόντων τὴν στρατείαν ἄγειν ἢ τὰ χρήματα φέρειν), ἀπειλαῖς χρησάμενοι πολλαῖς ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντες τοῖς ἀνασεύουσι τὸ πλῆθος, λεληθυῖαν ὑποψίαν κατέλιπον ὥς δικτάτορα ἀποδείξοντες, ὃς ἔμελλε καταλύσας τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὴν τυραννικὴν  
 4 καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον μόνος ἔξειν ἔξουσίαν. ὥς δὲ ταύτην ἔλαβον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν οἱ δημοτικοί, δέισαντες μὴ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀποδείξωσι πικρὸν ὄντα καὶ χαλεπὸν, πάντα πρὸ τούτου πάσχειν ὑπέμενον.

LXXXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεγράφη τὰ στρατεύματα, παραλαβόντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Κορνήλιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν χώραν ἐμβάλων τὴν ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαν λείαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπήλασε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβευσαμένων τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων καὶ ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου συνέθετο ἐνιαυσίους. Φάβιος δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν δύναμιν ἔχων εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν γῆν ἐνέβαλεν, ἔπειτ' ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν  
 2 Οὐολούσκων. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οὐ πολὺν ἡνέσχοντο οἱ Οὐολούσκοι διαρπαζομένων αὐτοῖς καὶ κειρομένων τῶν ἀγρῶν· ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὥς οὐ πολλῇ δυνάμει παρόντων ἐξεβοήθουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας τὰ ὄπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἀθρόοι, ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔφθασαν ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφανέντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, μεγάλην ἂν αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο τροπὴν· νῦν δὲ προαισθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ὁ ὕπατος διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐπὶ τὰς κατασκοπὰς, ἀνακλήσει ταχεῖα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους



and were prepared to prevent any attempt to seize either the persons or the goods of those who failed to serve—made many threats that they would not yield to those who were stirring up the multitude, leaving with them a lurking suspicion that they would appoint a dictator, who would set aside the other magistracies and alone by himself possess a tyrannical and irresponsible power. As soon as the plebeians entertained this suspicion, fearing that Appius, a harsh and stern man, would be the one appointed, they were ready to submit to anything rather than that.

LXXXII. When the armies had been enrolled, the consuls took command and led them out against their foes. Cornelius invaded the territory of the Veientes and drove off all the booty that was found there, and later, when the Veientes sent ambassadors, he released their prisoners for a ransom and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Aequians, and from there into that of the Volscians. For a short time the Volscians permitted their lands to be plundered and laid waste ; then, conceiving contempt for the Romans, as they were not present in any great force, they snatched up their arms and set out from the territory of the Antiates in a body to go to the rescue of their lands, having formed their plans with greater precipitancy than regard for their own safety. Now if they had surprised the Romans by appearing unexpectedly to them while they were dispersed, they might have inflicted a severe defeat upon them ; but as it was, the consul, being informed of their approach by those he had sent out to reconnoitre, by a prompt recall drew in his men, then dis-

ἀναλαβών, τάξιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε τὴν εἰς πόλεμον  
 3 ἀρμόττουσαν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐολούσκοις σὺν καταφρονή-  
 σει καὶ θάρσει χωροῦσιν, ὥς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη  
 συνεστῶσα ἐν κόσμῳ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύνα-  
 μεις, δέος ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον ὄψιν, καὶ  
 τοῦ μὲν κοινουῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας οὐδεμία φροντίς,<sup>1</sup> τῆς  
 δ' ἰδίας ἐκάστῳ σωτηρίας πρόνοια. ὑποστρέψαντες  
 δὴ ὥς εἶχον ἕκαστοι τάχους ἔφευγον ἄλλοι κατ'  
 ἄλλας ὁδοὺς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεσώθησαν εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγον δέ τι<sup>2</sup> στῖφος, ὃ μάλιστα ἦν  
 συντεταγμένον, εἰς ὄρους τινὰ κορυφὴν ἀναδραμὸν  
 καὶ θέμενον ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὄπλα τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα  
 διέμενε· ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις φρουρὰν περιστή-  
 σαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τῷ λόφῳ καὶ πάσας διακλεί-  
 σαντος ὅπλοις τὰς ἐξόδους, λιμῷ βιασθὲν ὑποχείριον  
 4 γίνεται καὶ παραδίδωσι τὰ ὄπλα. ὁ δ' ὑπάτος  
 τὴν τε λείαν ὄσῃ ἐπέτυχε καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς  
 αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ταμίαις, εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν ἀπήνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον. καὶ μετ' οὐ  
 πολὺν χρόνον ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς πολε-  
 μίας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ ἔτους.

Ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἔδοξε τοῖς  
 πατρικίοις ἡρεθισμένον ὁρῶσι τὸν δῆμον καὶ μετα-  
 μελόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Κασσίου καταδίκη, διὰ φυλακῆς  
 αὐτὸν ἔχειν, μή τι παρακινήσειε πάλιν εἰς δεκασμῶν  
 ἐλπίδα καὶ κλήρων διανομῆς<sup>3</sup> ὑπαχθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς  
 δημαγωγῆσαι δυνατοῦ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας λαβόντος  
 ἀξίωμα. ἐφαίνετο δ' αὐτοῖς ῥᾶστα κωλυθήσεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ ἔτ' ἦν φροντίς Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> τι B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske : διανομὴν O.

persed in pillaging, and put them back into the proper order for battle. As for the Volscians, who were advancing contemptuously and confidently, when the entire army of the enemy unexpectedly appeared, drawn up in orderly array, they were struck with fear at the unlooked-for sight, and no longer was there any thought for their common safety, but every man consulted his own. Turning about, therefore, they fled, each with all the speed he could, some one way and some another, and the greater part got back safely to their city. A small body of them, however, which had been best kept in formation, ran up to the top of a hill, and standing to their arms, remained there during the following night; but when in the course of the succeeding days the consul placed a guard round the hill and closed all the exits with armed troops, they were compelled by hunger to surrender and to deliver up their arms. The consul, after ordering the quaestors to sell the booty he had found, together with the spoils and the prisoners, brought the money back to the city. And not long afterwards, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he returned home with them, as the year was now drawing to its close.

When the election of magistrates was at hand,<sup>1</sup> the patricians, perceiving that the people were exasperated and repented of having condemned Cassius, resolved to guard against them, lest they should create some fresh disturbance when encouraged to hope for bribes and a distribution of allotments by some man skilful in the arts of the demagogue who should have gained the prestige of the consulship. And it seemed to them that the people would be most

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 82, 4-86, 9 *cf.* Livy ii. 42, 2-5.

τούτων τινὸς ὀρεγόμενος, εἰ γένοιτο ὑπάτος ἀνὴρ  
 5 ἤκιστα δημοτικός. βουλευσάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο κελεύ-  
 ονσι μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν κατ-  
 ηγορησάντων τοῦ Κασσίου, Καίσωνα Φάβιον  
 ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος Κοῖντου, καὶ  
 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον ἀνδρα  
 ἀριστοκρατικόν. τούτων δὲ μετιόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 κωλύειν μὲν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν οἱ δημοτικοί, κατα-  
 λιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὥχοντο ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.  
 6 τὸ γὰρ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας κύρος ἐν ταῖς  
 ψηφοφορίαις περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἦν καὶ τὰ  
 πρῶτα τιμήματα ἔχοντας, καὶ σπάνιόν τι ἦν ὃ  
 ἐπεκύρουν οἱ διὰ μέσου· ὃ δὲ τελευταῖος λόχος, ἐν  
 ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστόν τε καὶ ἀπορώτατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ  
 μέρος ἐψηφοφόρει, μιᾶς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηταί  
 μοι, τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου κύριος ἦν.

LXXXIII. Παραλαμβάνουσι δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν  
 κατὰ τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν τε καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος  
 Μамέρκου υἱὸς καὶ Καίσων Φάβιος Καίσωνος υἱός,  
 ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Νικοδήμου. οἷς κατ' εὐχὴν  
 συνέβη μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐπιταραχθῆναι  
 διχοστασίας πολέμων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων ἄλλο-  
 2 ἐθνῶν. ἐν ᾧ αἱ μὲν οὖν ἔθνεσι καὶ τόποις Ἑλλή-  
 νων τε καὶ βαρβάρων φιλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν  
 κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαι ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ ἐνδήμου ἐγεί-  
 ρειν πολέμους, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχουσιν ὅσοι  
 πολεμιστὴν καὶ κακόπαθον αἰροῦνται βίον ἐλευ-  
 θερίας τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας πόθῳ. χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ  
 μαθοῦσαι τοῦ πλείονος ἐφίεσθαι φύσεις ἐξαιργό-

<sup>1</sup> The Campus Martius.

easily prevented from realizing any of these desires if a man who was least democratic in his sympathies should become consul. Having come to this decision, they ordered Caeso Fabius, one of the two persons who had accused Cassius, and brother to Quintus, who was consul at the time, and, from among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the aristocratic party, to stand for the consulship. When these offered themselves for the office, the plebeians, though they could do nothing to prevent it, did leave the comitia and withdraw from the Field.<sup>1</sup> For in the centuriate assembly the balance of power in voting lay with the most important men and those who had the highest property ratings, and it was seldom that those of middling fortunes determined a matter ; the last century, in which the most numerous and poorest part of the plebeians voted, had but one vote, as I stated before,<sup>2</sup> which was always the last to be called for.

LXXXIII. Accordingly, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamercus, and Caeso Fabius, the son of Caeso, succeeded to the consulship in the two hundred and seventieth year<sup>3</sup> after the settlement of Rome, when Nicodemus was archon at Athens. It chanced fortunately that their consulship was not disturbed at all by civil strife, since the state was beset by foreign wars. Now in all nations and places, both Greek and barbarian, respites from evils from abroad are wont to provoke civil and domestic wars ; and this happens especially among those peoples who choose a life of warfare and its hardships from a passion for liberty and dominion. For natures which have learned to covet more than they have find it difficult, when

<sup>2</sup> See iv. 20, 5 ; vii. 59, 8.

<sup>3</sup> 482 B.C.

μεναι τῶν συνήθων ἔργων καρτερεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἔχθρας, κρείττονας ἡγούμενοι τῶν ἐντοπίων πολέμων τοὺς ἀλλοδαπούς.

3 τότε δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ δαίμονα τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεσον αἱ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπαναστάσεις. Οὐολοῦσκοι γάρ, εἴτε τῇ πολιτικῇ Ῥωμαίων κινήσει πιστεύσαντες ὡς ἐκπεπολεμωμένου<sup>1</sup> τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει, εἴτε τῆς προτέρας ἡττης ἀμαχητὶ γενομένης αἰσχύνη παροξυνθέντες, εἴτ' ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> ταῖς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς οὖσαις μέγα φρονήσαντες, εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα πάντα, πολεμεῖν

4 Ῥωμαίοις διέγνωσαν, καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως τὴν νεότητα, μέρει μὲν τινὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων πόλεις ἐστράτευσαν, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ, ἣ πλείστη τε ἦν καὶ κρατίστη, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἡξοντας δέχεσθαι ἡμέλλον. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξε διχῇ νέμειν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρα τὴν Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρα τὴν Οὐολούσκων λεηλατεῖν.

LXXXIV. Διακληρωσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς δυνάμεις, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τὸ μὲν ἐπικουρεῖν μέλλον τοῖς συμμάχοις στράτευμα Καίσιων Φάβιος παρέλαβε, θάτερον δὲ Λεύκιος ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἡγε πόλιν. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τῶν ὀρίων καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, τότε μὲν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ λόφου, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξιόντων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τῶν πολεμίων θαμινὰ καὶ προκαλουμένων εἰς μάχην, ἡνίκα τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling : ἐκπολεμωμένου ABC.

<sup>2</sup> εἴτ' ἐπὶ added by Sylburg.



restrained from their usual employments, to remain patient, and for this reason the wisest leaders are always stirring up the embers of some foreign quarrels in the belief that wars waged abroad are better than those fought at home. Be that as it may, at the time in question, as I said, the uprisings of the subject nations occurred very fortunately for the consuls. For the Volscians, either relying on the domestic disquiet of the Romans, in the belief that the plebeians had been brought to a state of war with the authorities, or stung by the shame of their former defeat received without striking a blow, or priding themselves on their own forces, which were very numerous, or induced by all these motives, resolved to make war upon the Romans. And assembling the youth from every city, they marched with one part of their army against the cities of the Hernicans and Latins, while with the other, which was very numerous and powerful, they proposed to await the forces which should come against their own cities. The Romans, being informed of this, determined to divide their army into two bodies, with one of which they would keep guard over the territory of the Hernicans and Latins and with the other lay waste that of the Volscians.

LXXXIV. The consuls having drawn lots for the armies according to their custom, the army that was to aid their allies fell to Caeso Fabius, while Lucius at the head of the other marched upon Antium. When he drew near the border and caught sight of the enemy's army, he encamped for the time opposite to them upon a hill. In the days that followed the enemy frequently came out into the plain, challenging the consul to fight ; and when he



οἰκεῖον ἔχειν καιρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις· καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπικελεύσει χρησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ σύνηθες ἀλαλάξαντες ἀθρόοι κατὰ σπείρας τε καὶ κατὰ  
 2 λόχους συνέβαλλον. ὥς δὲ τὰς λόγχας καὶ τὰ σαυνία καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ἐκηβόλα ἐξανάλωσαν, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη συρράττουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἴση τόλμη τε καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀγώνος ἐκάτεροι χρώμενοι· ἦν τε, ὥς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, παραπλήσιος αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ἀγώνος τρόπος, καὶ οὔτε ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὰς μάχας, ἢ χρώμενοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεκράτουν, οὔτε τὸ καρτερικὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἐν τοῖς πόνοις διὰ πολλῶν ἡσκημένον ἀγώνων ἐπεκράτει· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἡγεμόνα Ῥωμαίων οὐ τὸν ἀφανέστατον στρατηλάτην ἔσχον· ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον ἐκάτεροι, τῆς χώρας ἐν ἣ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστησαν οὐχ ὑφίεμενοι.  
 3 ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι ὑπεχώρουν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει δεχόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. στρατήγημα δὲ ταῦτ' ἦν, ἵνα διασπάσωσί τε αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου γένωνται<sup>1</sup> χωρίον.

LXXXV. Οἱ δ' ὑπολαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν φυγῆς ἠκολούθουν βάδην μὲν ἀπιούσι καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δρόμῳ χωροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἐθεάσαντο, ταχεῖα καὶ αὐτοὶ διώξει καὶ ἀσυντάκτῳ χρώμενοι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τελευταῖοί τε καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες λόχοι νεκροὺς τε ἐσκύλευον,

<sup>1</sup> γένωνται O : ἐπιγένωνται or ἀγωνίσωνται Sylburg.

<sup>1</sup> In chap. 67, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The final verb of this sentence is uncertain ; the syntax  
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thought he had the suitable opportunity, he led out his army. Before they engaged, he exhorted and encouraged his troops at length, and then ordered the trumpets to sound the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry, attacked in close array both by cohorts and by centuries. After they had used up all their spears and javelins with the rest of their missile weapons, they drew their swords and rushed upon each other, both sides showing equal intrepidity and eagerness for the struggle. Their manner of fighting, as I said before,<sup>1</sup> was similar, and neither the skill and experience of the Romans in engagements, because of which they were generally victorious, nor their steadfastness and endurance of toil, acquired in many battles, now gave them any advantage, since the same qualities were possessed by the enemy also from the time that they had been commanded by Marcius, not the least distinguished general among the Romans; but both sides stood firm, without quitting the ground on which they had first taken their stand. Afterwards the Volscians began to retire, a little at a time, but in order and keeping their ranks, while receiving the Romans' onset. But this was a ruse designed to draw the enemy's ranks apart and to secure<sup>2</sup> a position above them.

LXXXV. The Romans, supposing that they were beginning flight, kept pace with them as they slowly withdrew, they too maintaining good order as they followed, but when they saw them running toward their camp, they also pursued swiftly and in disorder; and the centuries which were last and guarded the rear fell to stripping the dead, as if they had already

would be improved by either of Sylburg's conjectures, "attack" or "fight" "from a higher position."

ὥς κεκρατηκότες ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἐφ'  
 2 ἄρπαγὴν τῆς χώρας ἐτράποντο. μαθόντες δ' οἱ  
 Οὐολοῦσκοι ταῦτα οἷ τε δόξαν παρασχόντες φυγῆς,  
 ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῦ χάρακος ἐπλησίασαν, ὑπο-  
 στραφέντες ἔστησαν, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῷ  
 στρατοπέδῳ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες ἐξέδραμον  
 ἀθρόοι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη· γίνεται τε αὐτῶν παλίν-  
 τροπος ἢ μάχη· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διώκοντες ἔφευγον,  
 οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐδίωκον. ἔνθα πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων θνήσκουσιν οἷα εἰκὸς ὠθούμενοι κατὰ  
 πρानοῦς χωρίου καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι κυκλω-  
 3 θέντες. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἔπασχον ὅσοι πρὸς<sup>1</sup>  
 σκῦλά τε καὶ ἄρπαγὰς τραπόμενοι τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ τε  
 καὶ τάξει ὑποχωρεῖν<sup>2</sup> ἀφηρέθησαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ<sup>3</sup> οὗτοι  
 καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγη-  
 σαν, οἱ δ' αἰχμάλωτοι ἐλήφθησαν. ὅσοι δὲ τούτων  
 τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαραχθέντων διεσώ-  
 θησαν, ὁπὲ τῆς ὥρας τῶν ἱππέων αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθη-  
 σάντων, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς  
 συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρῆναι χειμῶν  
 πολὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρραγεῖς καὶ σκότος, οἷον ἐν  
 ταῖς βαθείαις ὁμίχλαις γίνεται, ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ὄκνον τῆς ἐπὶ πλεόν διώξεως παρέσχεεν οὐ δυνα-  
 4 μένοις τὰ πόρρω καθορᾶν. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ  
 ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ ὑπάτος ἀπῆγε σιγῇ καὶ  
 ἐν κόσμῳ, λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους προνοούμενος· καὶ  
 κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ πόλει λεγομένη Λογγόλα  
 περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν, γήλοφον ἱκανὸν ἐρύκειν τοὺς  
 ἐπιόντας ἐκλεξάμενος. ἔνθα ὑπομένων τούς τε ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : περὶ Ο.

<sup>2</sup> ὑποχωρεῖν AC : ἀποχωρεῖν B.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ added by Sylburg.

conquered the enemy, and turned to plundering the country. When the Volscians perceived this, not only did those who had feigned flight face about and stand their ground as soon as they drew near the ramparts of their camp, but those also who had been left behind in the camp opened the gates and ran out in great numbers at several points. And now the fortune of the battle was reversed ; for the pursuers fled and the fugitives pursued. Here many brave Romans lost their lives, as may well be imagined, being driven down a declivity as they were and surrounded a few by many. And a like fate was suffered by those who had turned to despoiling the dead and to plundering and now found themselves deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly and regular retreat ; for these too were overtaken by the enemy, and some of them were killed and others taken prisoner. As many as came through safely, both of these and of the others, who had been driven from the hill, returned to their camp when the horse came to their relief late in the day. It seemed, moreover, that their escape from utter destruction had been due in part to a violent rainstorm that burst from the sky and to a darkness like that occurring in thick mists, which made the enemy reluctant to pursue them any farther, since they were unable to see things at a distance. The following night the consul broke camp and led his army away in silence and in good order, taking care to escape the notice of the enemy ; and late in the afternoon he encamped near a town called Longula, having chosen a hill strong enough to keep off any who might attack him. While he remained there, he employed himself both in restoring with

τραυμάτων κάμνοντας ἀνεκτᾶτο θεραπείαις, καὶ τοὺς ἀδημονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους αἰσχύνη παραμυθούμενος ἀνελάμβανε.

- LXXXVI. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ᾗσαν· Οὐλολοῦσκοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἔγνωσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκλελοιπότας τὸν χάρακα, προσελθόντες<sup>1</sup> κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. σκυλεύσαντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθνήτας οἷς σωθήσεσθαι ἐλπίς ἦν ἀνελόμενοι ταφάς τε ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐγγυτάτῳ πόλιν Ἀντιον ἀνέζευξαν· ἔνθα παιανίζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ θύοντες ἐν ᾗπασιν ἱεροῖς εἰς εὐπαθείας καὶ ἡδονὰς ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐτράποντο.
- 2 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε νίκης διέμειναν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπεχειργάσαντο, καλὸν ἂν αὐτοῖς εἰλήφει τέλος ὁ ἀγών. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἀγαπητῶς δ' ἂν<sup>2</sup> ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, κρείττονα τοῦ προδῆλου θανάτου τὴν ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενοι φυγὴν. νῦν δὲ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης
- 3 δόξαν ἀπέβαλον. ἀκούοντες γὰρ παρά τε κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀποδιδρασκόντων,<sup>3</sup> ὅτι κομιδῇ τ' εἰσὶν οἱ σωθέντες Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τραυματαῖι, πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο καταφρόνησιν, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἶπετο κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ ἅμα ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν.
- 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ προσβαλόντες τῷ λόφῳ τὸν τε χάρακα

<sup>1</sup> προσελθόντες Ba : προελθόντες R.

<sup>2</sup> ἀγαπητῶς δ' ἂν Kiessling : ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἂν εἰ (εἰ om. Ba) O, ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἂν ἦν εἰ Sylburg, Jacoby.

medical attention those who suffered from wounds and in raising the spirits of those who were disheartened at the unexpected disgrace of defeat by speaking words of encouragement to them.

LXXXVI. While the Romans were thus occupied, the Volscians, as soon as it was day and they learned that the enemy had left their entrenchments, came up and made camp. Then, having stripped the dead, taken up those whom, though half dead, there was hope of saving, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the nearest city; and there, singing songs of triumph for their victory and offering sacrifices in all their temples, they devoted themselves during the following days to merry-making and pleasures. Now if they had rested content with their present victory and had attempted nothing further, their struggle would have had a glorious end. For the Romans would not have dared to come out again from their camp to give battle, but would have been glad to withdraw from the enemy's country, considering inglorious flight better than certain death. But as it was, the Volscians, aiming at still more, threw away the glory of their former victory. For hearing both from scouts and from those who escaped from the enemy's camp that the Romans who had saved themselves were very few, and the greater part of these wounded, they conceived great contempt for them, and immediately seizing their arms, ran to attack them. Many unarmed people also followed them out of the city to witness the struggle and at the same time to secure plunder and booty. But when, after attacking the hill and surrounding the

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<sup>3</sup> ἀποδιδρασκόντων R : ἀποδεδρακόντων C, ἀποδεδρακότων Co-  
bet.



περιέστησαν καὶ τὰ περισταυρώματα διασπᾶν ἐπεχείρουν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς πεζοὶ μαχόμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐξέδραμον ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἔπειτα τούτων κατόπιν οἱ καλούμενοι τριάριοι πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατευομένων, οἷς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐπιτρέπουσι φυλάττειν ὅταν ἐξίωσιν εἰς τὴν μάχην, καὶ ἐφ' οὓς τελευταίους, ὅταν ἀθρόα γένηται τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ φθορά, σπανίζοντες ἐτέρας ἐπικουρίας

5 καταφεύγουσι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον. ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν μειονεκτοῦντες ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τέλος ὀλίγα μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ἐργασάμενοι, πλείω<sup>1</sup> δ' αὐτοὶ παθόντες κακὰ ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἔνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξέταττον τὴν δύναμιν καὶ προῦκαλοῦντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀντεξήεσαν.

6 Ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι συνεκάλουν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δυνάμεις καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ἐξελοῦντες πολυχειρία τὸ φρούριον· ῥαδίως τε ἂν ἐξειργάσαντο μέγα ἔργον ὑπάτου τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως ἢ βία κρατήσαντες ἢ καὶ ὁμολογίαις<sup>2</sup> (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔτι εὐπόρει τὸ χωρίον), ἔφθη δὲ πρότερον ἐπικουρία Ῥωμαίοις ἐλθοῦσα, ὑφ' ἧς ἐκωλύθησαν οἱ Οὐολοῦ-

7 σκοι τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος. ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Καίσων Φάβιος μαθὼν ἐν αἷς ἦν τύχαις ἢ παραταξαμένη Οὐολοῦσκοις δύναμις

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling : πλέω O.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὁμολογίαις ABC : καθ' ὁμολογίας D (?).



camp, they endeavoured to pull down the palisades, first the Roman horse, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, sallied out against them, and, behind the horse, those they call the *triarii*, with their ranks closed. These are the oldest soldiers, to whom they commit the guarding of the camp when they go out to give battle, and they fall back of necessity upon these as their last hope when there has been a general slaughter of the younger men and they lack other reinforcements. The Volscians at first sustained their onset and continued to fight stubbornly for a long time ; then, being at a disadvantage because of the nature of the ground, they began to give way and at last, after inflicting slight and negligible injuries upon the enemy, while suffering more themselves, they retired to the plain. And encamping there, during the following days they repeatedly drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight ; but these did not come out against them.

When the Volscians saw this, they held them in contempt, and summoning forces from their cities, made preparations to capture the stronghold by their very numbers. And they might easily have performed a great exploit by taking both the consul and the Roman army either by force or even by capitulation, since the place was no longer well supplied with provisions either ; but reinforcements came in time to the Romans, thus preventing the Volscians from bringing the war to the most glorious conclusion. It seems that the other consul, Caeso Fabius, learning to what straits the army had been reduced which had been arrayed against the Volscians, proposed to

ἐβούλετο μὲν ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἅπασαν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν εὐθὺς ἐπιέναι τοῖς πολιορκουῦσι τὸ φρούριον. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ θυομένῳ τε καὶ οἰωνοῖς χρωμένῳ τὰ ἱερὰ καλά, ἀλλ' ἤναντιοῦτο πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, τὰς δὲ κρατίστας ἐπιλεξάμενος σπείρας ἀπέστειλε 8 τῷ συνάρχοντι. αἱ δὲ διὰ τε ὀρῶν ἀφανῶς<sup>1</sup> καὶ νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ ποιησάμεναι τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς πολεμίους λαθοῦσαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Αἰμίλιος θρασύτερος ἐγεγόνει τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τῷ τε πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ εἰκῇ<sup>2</sup> πίσυνοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην ἐπαρθέντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέντες αὐτοὺς<sup>3</sup> ἀναβῆναι καθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ πολλὰ πονεῖν περὶ τῷ σταυρώματι ἐάσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη τῆς μάχης διασπάσαντες κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸν χάρακα ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς χεῖρας καταστάντες τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων λίθοις τε καὶ σαννίοις καὶ λόγχαις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἔβαλλον, βέλος τε<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν ἄσκοπον ἦν πεπιλημένων γε<sup>5</sup> ἐν βραχεὶ χωρίῳ πολ- 9 λῶν. ἀπαράττονται δὴ τοῦ λόφου πολλοὺς σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαντες μόγις εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποσώζονται χάρακα. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὥς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τέλος<sup>6</sup> ὄντες ἤδη κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν· ἐξ ὧν ἐπισιτισμοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων σπάνις ἦν ἐν τῷ χάρακι ἐλάμβανον.

LXXXVII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχ-

<sup>1</sup> ὀρῶν ἀφανῶς Sintenis, ὀρῶν ἀφανεῖς Reudler : ὁδῶν ἀφανῶν O.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : ἐκεῖ O.

march as quickly as possible with all his forces and fall at once upon those who were besieging the stronghold. Since, however, the victims and omens were not favourable when he offered sacrifice and consulted the auspices, but the gods opposed his setting out, he himself remained behind, but chose out and sent his best cohorts to his colleague. These, making their way covertly through the mountains and generally by night, entered the camp without being perceived by the enemy. Aemilius, therefore, had become emboldened by the arrival of these reinforcements, while the enemy, rashly trusting to their numbers and elated because the Romans did not come out to fight, proceeded to march up the hill in close order. The Romans permitted them to come up at their leisure and to spend their strength on the palisade; but when the signals for battle were raised, they pulled down the ramparts in many places and fell upon the enemy. Some of them, coming to close quarters, fought with their swords, while others from the ramparts hurled at their assailants stones, javelins and spears; and no missile failed of a mark where many combatants were crowded together in a limited space. Thus the Volscians were hurled back from the hill after losing many of their number, and turning to flight, barely got safely back to their own camp: The Romans, feeling themselves secure at last, now made descents into the enemy's fields, from which they took provisions and everything else of which there was a dearth in the camp.

LXXXVII. When the time for the election of

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<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : αὐτοῖς O.      <sup>4</sup> τε O : δ' Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> γε Reiske : τε O.

<sup>6</sup> τέλος Kiessling : τέως O, Jacoby.

αιρεσιῶν καιρός, ὁ μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχων ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐσχήμοσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν τὸ κράτιστον ἀπολωλεκὼς τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὁ δὲ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥχετο· καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οἷς μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλετο δοθῆναι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀνδράσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οὐ προὔθηκε τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδ' <sup>1</sup> αὐτοὶ μετήρσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκόντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μετιόντων τοὺς τε λόχους ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὰς <sup>2</sup> ψήφους ἀνέδωκεν. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οὓς ἡ βουλὴ προεἴλετο καὶ οἷς παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ σφόδρα τῷ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένοι. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατοὶ ὃ τε νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προθέντος τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὑπάτου, Μάρκος Φάβιος Καίσωνος υἱός, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Μάρκου υἱός, ὁ τὸν τρις ὑπατεύσαντα Κάσσιον κρίνας ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ ἀποκτείνας.

<sup>3</sup> Οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἡξίουσαν ἑτέρους καταγράφειν, ἵνα τὸ ἐλλιπὲς ἀναπληρωθῇ τῶν λόχων. καὶ δόγμα ποιησάμενοι βουλῆς <sup>2</sup> προὔγραψαν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ παρεῖναι τοὺς ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν στρατεύσιμον ἔδει. <sup>3</sup> μετὰ τοῦτο θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην <sup>4</sup> καὶ λόγοι τῶν πενεστάτων στασιώδεις οὐκ ἀξιούντων οὔτε βουλῆς δόγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν οὔτε ὑπάτων ἐξουσία πειθαρχεῖν, ὅτι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : οὐκ Ο.

<sup>2</sup> δόγμα ποιησαμένης τῆς βουλῆς Kiessling.

magistrates arrived,<sup>1</sup> Aemilius remained in camp, being ashamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had lost the best part of his army. But his colleague, leaving his subordinate officers in camp, went to Rome ; and assembling the people for the election, he declined to propose for the voting those among the ex-consuls on whom the populace wished the consulship to be bestowed, since even these men were not voluntary candidates, but he called the centuries and took their votes in favour of such as sought the office. These were men the senate had selected and ordered to canvass for the office, men not very acceptable to the populace. Those elected consuls for the ensuing year were Marcus Fabius, son of Caeso, the younger brother of the consul who conducted the election, and Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus, the man who had accused Cassius, who had been thrice consul, of aiming at tyranny and caused him to be put to death.

These men, having taken office, asked for the levying of fresh troops to replace those who had perished in the war against the Antiates, in order that the gaps in the various centuries might be filled ; and having obtained a decree of the senate, they appointed a day on which all who were of military age must appear. Thereupon there was a great tumult throughout the city and seditious speeches were made by the poorest citizens, who refused either to comply with the decrees of the senate or to obey the authority of the consuls, since they had violated the promises made

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 87-89, 3 *cf.* Livy ii. 42, 6-9.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ᾗ . . . ἔδει B : ἐν ᾗ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν στρατεύσιμον ἦκειν ἔδει R. <sup>4</sup> ὅλην B : om. R.

ἐψεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς· συνιόντες τε κατὰ πλῆθος  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ὠνείδιζον αὐτοῖς προδοσίαν καὶ  
 κατεβῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν.  
 4 τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις οὐκ ἑδόκει καιρὸς ἀρμόττων  
 εἶναι πολέμου συνεστῶτος ὑπερορίου τὰς πολιτικὰς  
 ἔχθρας ἀναζωπυρεῖν, εἰς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάιος  
 Μαΐνιος οὐκ ἔφη προδώσειν τοὺς δημοτικούς, οὐδ'  
 ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις στρατιὰν καταγράφειν, ἐὰν  
 μὴ πρότερον ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας  
 γῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα γράψαντες  
 εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενέγκωσιν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πρὸς  
 ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τοῦ  
 μηθὲν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν ὧν ἡξίου τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα  
 πόλεμον, οὐκ ἔφη προσέξειν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ  
 5 κωλύσειν ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει τὴν καταγραφὴν. καὶ  
 ἐποίει ταῦτα· οὐ μὴν ἴσχυσέ γε μέχρι τέλους. οἱ  
 γὰρ ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ  
 παρακειμένῳ πεδίῳ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς δίφρους  
 ἔθηκαν· ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο  
 κατάλογον, καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας τοῖς νόμοις,  
 ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὺς ἄγειν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν, εἰς χρήματα  
 ἐζημίουν, ὅσοις μὲν χωρία ὑπῆρχεν, ἐκκόπτοντες  
 ταῦτα καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καθαιροῦντες, ὅσων δὲ  
 γεωργικὸς ὁ βίος ἦν ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κτήμασι, τού-  
 των ἄγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες τὰ παρεσκευασμένα  
 πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ζεύγη τε βοϊκὰ καὶ βοσκήματα  
 καὶ ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ σκεύη παντοῖα οἷς γῇ  
 6 τ' ἐξεργάζεται καὶ καρποὶ συγκομίζονται. ὁ δὲ  
 κωλύων τὴν καταγραφὴν δήμαρχος οὐθὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν  
 ἦν δυνατός. οὐδενὸς γάρ εἰσι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως  
 οἱ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κύριοι· περι-



to them concerning the allotment of land. And going in great numbers to the tribunes, they charged them with treachery, and with loud outcries demanded their assistance. Most of the tribunes did not regard it as a suitable time, when a foreign war had arisen, to fan domestic hatreds into flame again; but one of them, named Gaius Maenius, declared that he would not betray the plebeians or permit the consuls to levy an army unless they should first appoint commissioners for fixing the boundaries of the public land, draw up the decree of the senate for its allotment, and lay it before the people. When the consuls opposed this and made the war they had on their hands an excuse for not granting anything he desired, the tribune replied that he would pay no heed to them, but would hinder the levy with all his power. And this he attempted to do; nevertheless, he could not prevail to the end. For the consuls, going outside the city, ordered their generals' chairs to be placed in the near-by field<sup>1</sup>; and there they not only enrolled the troops, but also fined those who refused obedience to the laws, since it was not in their power to seize their persons. If the disobedient owned estates, they laid them waste and demolished their country-houses; and if they were farmers who tilled fields belonging to others, they stripped them of the yokes of oxen, the cattle, and the beasts of burden that were on hand for the work, and all kinds of implements with which the land is tilled and the crops gathered. And the tribune who opposed the levy was no longer able to do anything. For those who are invested with the tribuneship possess no authority over anything outside the city, since their jurisdic-

<sup>1</sup> The Campus Martius.



## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γέγραπται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπαυλισθῆναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς θέμις, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἓνα καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαι θύουσιν αἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαὶ κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους τῷ Διὶ θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν<sup>1</sup> ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσαι.

7 τοῦτο διαμένει μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων τὸ ἔθος, τὸ μηθενὸς εἶναι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημάρχους κυρίους· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον τὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας, ὃς μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ἐγένετο, ἡ κινήσασα πρόφασις ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἄλλαις δόξασα μείζων<sup>3</sup> εἶναι καὶ ἀποχρῶσα<sup>4</sup> διαστῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἥδε ἦν, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἐξεληλάσθαι τῆς πόλεως αἰτιώμενοι βία πρὸς τοῦ τότε κατέχοντος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μηθενὸς εἶεν ἔτι κύριοι, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Γαλατία τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέχοντα,

8 ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅποι τράπωνται, κατέφυγον. ὁ δὲ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ χρησάμενος, ὡς ἀρχῇ δήμου παναγεῖ τὸ κράτος ἀφαιρεθείσῃ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τῶν προγόνων αὐτὸς ὁσίως καὶ σὺν δίκῃ βοηθῶν αὐτὸς τε σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήγαγε.

LXXXVIII. Τότε δ' οὖν οἱ δημόται τῆς δημοκρατικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲν ἀπολαύοντες ὑφείντο τοῦ θράσους καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας τεταγμένοις τὸν ἱερὸν ὄρκον ὥμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλβανὸν Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν added by Steph.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> μείζων ACmg : om. R.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἀποχρῶσα O : καὶ μόνῃ ἀποχρῶσα Reiske, Jacoby.

tion is limited by the city walls, and it is not lawful for them even to pass a night away from the city, save on a single occasion, when all the magistrates of the commonwealth ascend the Alban Mount and offer up a common sacrifice to Jupiter in behalf of the Latin nation. This custom by which the tribunes possess no authority over anything outside the city continues to our times. And indeed the motivating cause, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans which occurred in my day and was greater than any war before it, the cause which seemed more important and sufficient to divide the commonwealth, was this—that some of the tribunes, complaining that they had been forcibly driven out of the city by the general<sup>1</sup> who was then in control of affairs in Italy, in order to deprive them henceforth of any power, fled to the general<sup>2</sup> who commanded the armies in Gaul, as having no place to turn to. And the latter, availing himself of this excuse and pretending to come with right and justice to the aid of the sacrosanct magistracy of the people which had been deprived of its authority contrary to the oaths of the forefathers, entered the city himself in arms and restored the men to their office.<sup>3</sup>

LXXXVIII. But on the occasion of which we are now speaking the plebeians, receiving no assistance from the tribunician power, moderated their boldness, and coming to the persons appointed to raise the levies, took the sacred oath and enlisted under their

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the year 49 B.C. Antony and Q. Cassius, two of the new tribunes, and Curio, who had just laid down that office, fled to Caesar, then encamped at Ravenna. Attention has already been called (see chap. 80) to Dionysius' avoidance of proper names when mentioning persons of his own day.

σημείας<sup>1</sup> κατεγράφοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἑλλιπὲς τῶν λόγων ἐξεπληρώθη, διεκκληρώσαντο τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν στρατοπέδων οἱ ὕπατοι· καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποσταλείσαν δύναμιν παρελάμβανεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος τὴν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις στρατοπεδεύουσαν ἄγων τοὺς νεωστὶ  
 2 καταγραφέντας. μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐδόκει στρατιάν τε ἐτέραν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιήσασθαι χωρίῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν ἔτι προπετὲς κινδύνευμα ὥς πρότερον ὑπομένειν. ἐγεγόνει ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων, ἀμφοτέροις τε παρέστη τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοία περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη, τὰ ἑαυτῶν φυλάττειν ἐρύματα, εἴαν τις ἐπὶ, τοῖς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὥς βία κρατη-  
 3 θησομένοις μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων τριβόμενος· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς τέλος γε διαμένειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἐδυνήθησαν. ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπισιτισμοῦ χάριν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων τινὸς ὦν ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει<sup>2</sup> μοῖρά τις ἀποσταλείη τῆς στρατιᾶς, συμβολαί τε αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ πληγαί, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ αἰὲν παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔμενε· πολλάκις δὲ συμπλεκόμενων ἀλλήλοις ἀπέθνησκόν τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ  
 4 τραυματαῖαι πλείους ἐγίνοντο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἀπαναλούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδεμία ποθὲν<sup>3</sup> ἐπικουρία<sup>4</sup> ἐξεπλήρου, τὸ δὲ τῶν Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἡκόντων πολλὴν αὐξήσιν ἐλάμβανε· καὶ τούτῳ ἐπαρθέντες

<sup>1</sup> σημείας AB : σημαίας Portus, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἔδει Reiske : ἐδόκει O.

ποθὲν O : οἰκοθεν Kiessling.

standards. When the gaps in the several centuries had been filled, the consuls drew lots for the command of the legions ; as a result, Fabius took over the army which had been sent to the assistance of the allies, while Valerius received the one which lay encamped in the country of the Volscians, and took with him the new levies. When the enemy were informed of his arrival, they resolved to send for another army and to encamp in a place of greater strength, and no longer out of contempt for the Romans to expose themselves to reckless danger, as before. These resolutions were quickly carried out ; and the commanders of the two armies both came to the same decision regarding the war, namely, to defend their own entrenchments if they were attacked, but to make no attempt upon those of the enemy in the expectation of carrying them by assault. And meanwhile not a little time was wasted, because of their fear of making any attack upon each other. Nevertheless, they were not able to abide by their resolutions to the end. For whenever any detachments were sent out to bring in provisions or anything else that was necessary to the two armies, there were encounters and blows were exchanged, and the victory did not always rest with the same side ; and since they frequently clashed, not a few men were killed and more wounded. For the Romans the wastage of their army was made good by no replacements from any quarter<sup>1</sup> ; but the army of the Volscians was greatly increased by the arrival of one force after another, and their generals,

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling proposed " from home."

<sup>4</sup> ἐπικουρία Ambrosch, Kiessling, ἐπιούσα ἐπικουρία Sintenis : ἐπιούσα O.

οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν δύναμιν ὥς εἰς μάχην.

LXXXIX. Ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ παραταξαμένων ἰσχυρὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἴση πάντων χρωμένων προθυμία τε καὶ ἐμπειρία, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἐκάστου  
 2 παρ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον τιθεμένου· ὥς δὲ νεκροὶ τε αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθησαν χωρὶν πεσόντες ἔκειντο, καὶ ἡμιθνήτες ἔτι πλείους τῶν νεκρῶν,<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἔτι διαμένοντες ὀλιγοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ οὐδὲ οὔτοι δρᾶν τὰ πολέμου ἔργα δυνάμενοι, βαρυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων τὰς εὐωνύμους χεῖρας διὰ πληθὺς τῶν ἐμπεπηγότων βελῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐώντων ὑπομένειν τὰς προσβολάς, τετραμμένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων τὰς ἀκμάς, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ κατεαγότων ὄλων, οἷς οὐθὲν ἔτι ἦν χρῆσθαι, τοῦ τε κόπου, ὅς δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἀγωνιζομένοις αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, παραλύντος τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἀσθενεῖς ποιοῦντος, ἰδρώτος δὲ καὶ δίψης καὶ ἄσθματος, οἷα ἐν πνιγερᾷ ὥρᾳ<sup>2</sup> ἔτους τοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνιζομένοις συμπίπτειν φιλεῖ, παρ' ἀμφοτέροις γινομένων, τέλος οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἀξιόλογον ἢ μάχην, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἀμφοτέροι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνακαλουμένων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας· καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἀντικαθήμενοι<sup>3</sup> παρεφύλαττον ἀλλήλων τὰς  
 3 ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων γινομένας ἐξόδους. ἔδοξε μέντοι, ὥς<sup>4</sup> λόγος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολὺς, δυναμένη<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τῶν νεκρῶν deleted by Reudler, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν πνιγερᾷ ὥρᾳ Bb : ἐμπνίγει ὥρᾳ A.

<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ἀντικαθήμενοι A : ἀλλὰ καθήμενοι B.

elated at this, led out the army from the camp ready for battle.

LXXXIX. When the Romans also came out and drew up their forces, a sharp engagement ensued, not only of the horse, but of the foot and the light-armed troops as well, all showing equal ardour and experience and every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone. At last, however, the bodies of the dead on both sides lay in great numbers where they had fallen at the posts assigned to them, and the men who were barely alive were even more numerous than the dead, while those who still continued the fight and faced its dangers were but few, and even these were unable to perform the tasks of war; for their shields, because of the multitude of spears that had stuck in them, weighed down their left arms and would not permit them to sustain the enemy's onsets, and their daggers had their edges blunted or in some cases were entirely shattered and no longer of any use, and the great weariness of the men, who had fought the whole day, slackened their sinews and weakened their blows, and sweat, thirst, and want of breath afflicted both armies, as is wont to happen when men fight long in the stifling heat of summer. Thus the battle came to an end that was anything but remarkable; but both sides, as soon as their generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, gladly returned to their camps. After that neither army any longer ventured out for battle, but lying over against one another, they kept watch on each other's movements when any detachments went out for supplies. It was believed, however, according to the report common

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<sup>4</sup> ὥς Naber : καὶ O, Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> δυναμένη Naber : ὥς δυναμένη O, Jacoby.



τότε νικᾶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐκουσία μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι<sup>1</sup> λαμπρὸν διὰ μῖσός τε τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ ὀργὴν ἣν εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ τῆς κληρουχίας. αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν ὑπατον ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν στρατηγεῖν ᾗτιῶντο, γράμματα πέμποντες ὡς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστοι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γινόμενα τοιαῦτ' ἦν· ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ δαιμόνια σημεῖα ἐφαίνετο δηλωτικὰ θείου χόλου κατὰ τε φωνὰς καὶ ὄψεις ἀήθεις. πάντα δ' εἰς τοῦτο συνέτεινεν, ὡς οἱ τε μάντις καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ συνενέγκαντες τὰς ἐμπειρίας ἀπέφαινον, τὸ<sup>2</sup> θεῶν χολοῦσθαι<sup>3</sup> τινὰς<sup>4</sup> ὅτι<sup>5</sup> οὐ κομίζονται τὰς νομίμους τιμὰς, οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ ὁσίως ἐπιτελουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν. ζήτησις δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὴ ἐκ πάντων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ μήνυσις ἀποδίδοται τοῖς ἱεροφάνταις ὅτι τῶν παρθένων μία τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, Ὀπιμία ὄνομα αὐτῇ, τὴν παρθε-  
5 νίαν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα μιαίνει τὰ ἱερά. οἱ δ' ἔκ τε βασάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξεων μαθόντες ὅτι τὸ μνηνύμενον ἦν ἀδίκημα<sup>6</sup> ἀληθές, αὐτὴν μὲν τῆς κορυφῆς ἀφελόμενοι τὰ στέμματα καὶ πομπεύσαντες δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐντὸς τείχους ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν· δύο δὲ τοὺς ἐξελεγχθέντας διαπράξασθαι τὴν φθορὰν

<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι O : μηδὲν ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπέφαινον, τὸ Post : ἀπεφαίνοντο O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> χολοῦσθαι ACmg : om. BC, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> τινὰς Sylburg : τινες B, Jacoby, τινὰ A, and C (by correction).

<sup>5</sup> ὅτι Reiske : οἱ A (by correction), om. BC ; Jacoby placed ὅτι before θεῶν and (with BC) omitted χολοῦσθαι.



in Rome, that the Roman army, though it was then in their power to conquer, deliberately refused to perform any brilliant action because of hatred for the consul and the resentment they felt against the patricians for having played a trick upon them in the matter of the allotment of land. Indeed, the soldiers themselves, in letters they sent to their friends, accused the consul of being unfit to command.

While these things were happening in the camp, in Rome itself many prodigies<sup>1</sup> in the way of unusual voices and sights occurred as indications of divine wrath. And they all pointed to this conclusion, as the augurs and the interpreters of religious matters declared, after pooling their experiences, that some of the gods were angered because they were not receiving their customary honours, as their rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. Thereupon strict inquiry was made by everyone, and at last information was given to the pontiffs that one of the virgins who guarded the sacred fire, Opimia<sup>2</sup> by name, had lost her virginity and was polluting the holy rites. The pontiffs, having by tortures and other proofs found that the information was true,<sup>3</sup> took from her head the fillets, and solemnly conducting her through the Forum, buried her alive inside the city walls. As for the two men who were convicted of violating her, they ordered them to be

<sup>1</sup> For chap. 89, 3-5 cf. Livy ii. 42, 10 f.

<sup>2</sup> Livy gives her name as Oppia.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "a true crime"; but the word ἀδίκημα is suspicious, and was deleted by Kiessling; Kayser proposed ἀσέβημα ("act of impiety").

<sup>6</sup> ἀδίκημα deleted by Kiessling; Kayser proposed to read ἀσέβημα or ἀμάρτημα.

μαστιγώσαντες ἐν φανερώ παραχρήμα<sup>1</sup> ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα ὡς ἀφεικότων αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν τὸν χόλον, ἐγίνετο.

XC. Ὡς δὲ καθήκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν χρόνος, ἐλθόντων τῶν ὑπάτων πολλὴ σπουδὴ καὶ παράταξις ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους περὶ τῶν παραληφιομένων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐβούλοντο τοὺς δραστηρίους τε καὶ ἡκιστα δημοτικούς ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προ-  
αγαγεῖν· καὶ μετῆει τὴν ἀρχὴν κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου τοῦ πολεμιοτάτου τῷ δήμῳ δοκοῦντος εἶναι, μεστὸς αὐθαδεΐας ἀνὴρ καὶ θράσους, ἐταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις ἀπάντων πλείστον τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν δυνάμενος· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ τῶν πείραν ἤδη δεδωκότων τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς τοὺς προνοησομένους τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ὀνομάζων ἡξίου ποιεῖν ὑπάτους. αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ διειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἀνέλουν ἐξου-  
2 σίας. ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καλοῖεν τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀποδείξοντες τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπάτους, οἱ δήμαρχοι τοῦ κωλύειν ὄντες κύριοι διέλουν τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια, ὁπότε δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι καλοῖεν ὡς ἀρχαιρεσιάσοντα τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τοὺς λόχους καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδιδόναι. κατηγορίαι τε ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀψιμαχίαι καθ' ἐταιρίας συνισταμένων, ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τινὰς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχεῖν  
3 τὴν στάσιν τῶν ὄπλων. ταῦτα μαθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ

<sup>1</sup> παραχρήμα placed before μετὰ τοῦτο by Reiske.

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 90 f. cf. Livy ii. 43, 1 f.

scourged in public and then put to death at once. Thereupon the sacrifices and the auguries became favourable, as if the gods had given up their anger against them.

XC. When the time for the election of magistrates arrived <sup>1</sup> and the consuls had returned to Rome, there was great rivalry and marshalling of forces between the populace and the patricians concerning the persons who were to receive the chief magistracy. For the patricians desired to promote to the consulship those of the younger men who were energetic and least inclined to favour the plebeians ; and at their behest the son of the Appius Claudius who was regarded as the greatest enemy of the plebeians stood for the office, a man full of arrogance and daring and by reason of his friends and clients the most powerful man of his age. The populace, on their part, named from among the older men who had already given proof of their reasonableness those who were likely to consult the common good, and desired to make them consuls. The magistrates also were divided and sought to invalidate one another's authority. For whenever the consuls called an assembly of the multitude, to announce the candidates for the consulship, the tribunes, by virtue of their power to intervene, would dismiss the comitia ; and whenever the tribunes, in turn, called an assembly of the people to elect magistrates, the consuls, who had the power of calling the centuries together and of taking their votes, would not permit them to proceed. There were mutual accusations and continual skirmishes between them, each side uniting in factional groups, with the result that even angry blows were exchanged and the sedition stopped little short of armed violence.

πολὺν ἐσκόπει χρόνον ὃ τι χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυναμένη τὸν δῆμον οὔτε εἶξαι βουλομένη. ἦν δ' ἡ μὲν αὐθαδεστέρα γνώμη δικτάτορα ἐλέσθαι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔνεκα, ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται κράτιστον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς τε νοσοποιοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἡμάρτηται ταῖς πρότερον ἀρχαῖς ἐπανορθώσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὃν βούλεται καταστησάμενον ἀνδράσι τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀποδοῦναι  
 4 τὰς ἀρχάς· ἡ δ' ἐπιεικεστέρα μεσοβασιλεῖς ἐλέσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἄνδρας, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅπως κρᾶτισται γενήσονται, προνοηθῆναι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐκλιπόντων ἐγίνοντο. ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πλειόνων ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν μεσοβασιλεὺς<sup>1</sup> Αὐλὸς Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι κατελύθησαν  
 5 ἀρχαί. οὗτος ἐπιτροπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ἀστασίαστον ὄσας ἐξῆν ἡμέρας ἕτερον ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν, Σπόριον Λάρκιον. κακεῖνος συγκαλέσας τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ψήφους κατὰ<sup>2</sup> τὰ τιμήματα ἀναδούς, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων εὐδοκήσεως ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους Γάιον Ἰούλιον, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Ἰουλον, ἐκ τῶν φιλοδημῶν,<sup>3</sup> καὶ Κόιντον Φάβιον Καίσιωνος υἱὸν τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ  
 6 τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν<sup>4</sup> δῆμος οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ πεπονθὼς εἶασε

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδείκνυται . . . μεσοβασιλεὺς Cmg : ἀποδείκνυνται . . . μεσοβασιλεῖς ABC.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ Sylburg : καὶ O.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby : φιλοδημοτικῶν O, δημοτικῶν Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν added by Reiske.

The senate, being informed of all this, deliberated for a long time how it should deal with the situation, being neither able to force the populace to submit nor willing to yield. The bolder opinion in that body was for appointing a dictator, whomever they should consider to be the best, for the purpose of the election, and that the one receiving this power should banish the trouble-makers from the state, and if the former magistrates had been guilty of any error, that he should correct it, and then, after establishing the form of government he desired, should hand over the magistracies to the best men. The more moderate opinion was for choosing the oldest and most honoured senators as *interreges* to have charge of the election and see that it was carried out in the best manner, just as elections were formerly carried out upon the demise of their kings. The latter opinion having been approved by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was appointed *interrex* by the senate and all the other magistracies were suspended. After he had administered the commonwealth without any sedition for as many days as it was lawful,<sup>1</sup> he appointed another *interrex*, according to their custom, naming Spurius Larcius. And Larcius, summoning the centuriate assembly and taking their votes according to the valuation of their property, named for consuls, with the approval of both sides, Gaius Julius, surnamed Iulus, one of the men friendly to the populace, and, to serve for the second time, Quintus Fabius, the son of Caeso, who belonged to the aristocratic party. The populace, who had suffered naught at his hands in his former consulship, permitted him to obtain this

<sup>1</sup> The period was five days ; see ii. 57, 2.

τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δεύτερον, μισῶν τὸν Ἀππιον καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνος ἀτιμασθῆναι ἐδόκει σφόδρα ἡδόμενος· τοῖς δ' ἐν τέλει διαπεπραγμένοις δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνδῶσοντα τῷ δήμῳ μαλακὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν παρελθεῖν, κατὰ γνώμην ἐδόκει κεχωρηκέναι τὰ τῆς διχοστασίας.

XCI. Ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς Αἰκανοὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἀπήλασαν ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα πολλὰ ληστρικῇ ἐφόδῳ χρησάμενοι· Τυρρηνῶν δ' οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς πολλὴν ἡδίκησαν προνομαῖς. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸν μὲν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον εἰς ἕτερον ἀναβαλομένης χρόνον, παρὰ δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν δίκας αἰτεῖν ψηφισαμένης,<sup>1</sup> Αἰκανοὶ μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε, καὶ οὐθεὶς ὁ κωλύσων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐφαίνετο, θράσει ἐπαρθέντες ἀλογίστῳ ληστρικὴν μὲν οὐκέτι στρατείαν ἔγνωσαν ποιεῖσθαι, δυνάμει δὲ βαρεῖα ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρτῶνα<sup>2</sup> κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσι· καὶ διαρπάσαντες τὰ τε ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπήεσαν εὐπορίαν<sup>2</sup> πολλὴν ἀγόμενοι. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἦκοντας ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶησαν οἱ προνομεύοντες τὴν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν, ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐθὲν τῶν δικαίων ποιήσαντες· καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπι-  
 τυγχάνουσι τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς λείαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἄγουσι. ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ βουλή μαθοῦσα πολεμεῖν τε ἐψηφίσατο Οὐιεντανοῖς καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-  
 3 τους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν. ἐγένετο

<sup>1</sup> δίκας αἰτεῖν ψηφισαμένης B : αἰτεῖν ψηφισαμένης ἀπολογίαν R.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : ὀρῶνα O.



power for the second time because they hated Appius and were greatly pleased that he seemed to have been deprived of an honour ; while those in authority, having succeeded in advancing to the consulship a man of action and one who would show no weakness toward the populace, thought the dissension had taken a course favourable to their designs.

XCI. During the consulship of these men the Aequians, making a raid into the territory of the Latins after the manner of brigands, carried off a great number of slaves and cattle ; and the people of Tyrrhenia called the Veientes injured a large part of the Roman territory by their forays. The senate voted to put off the war against the Aequians to another time, but to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The Aequians, accordingly, since their first attempts had been successful and there appeared to be no one to prevent their further operations, grew elated with an unreasoning boldness, and resolving no longer to send out a mere marauding expedition, marched with a large force to Ortona and took it by storm ; then, after plundering everything both in the country and in the city, they returned home with rich booty. As for the Veientes, they returned answer to the ambassadors who came from Rome that those who were ravaging their country were not from their city, but from the other Tyrrhenian cities, and then dismissed them without giving them any satisfaction ; and the ambassadors fell in with the Veientes as these were driving off booty from the Roman territory. The senate, learning of these things from the ambassadors, voted to declare war against the Veientes and that both consuls should lead out



μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἀμφιλογία, καὶ πολλοὶ  
 ἦσαν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἔωντες ἐκφέρειν τῆς τε  
 κληρουχίας ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἧς  
 γε πέμπτον ἔτος ἐψηφισμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 κενῇ πιστεύσαντες ἐλπίδι ἐξηπάτηντο, καὶ κοινὸν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀποφαίνοντες πόλεμον, εἰ κοινῇ χρήσεται γνώμη  
 4 πᾶσα Τυρρηνία τοῖς ὁμοεθnéσι βοηθοῦσα. οὐ μὴν  
 ἰσχυσάν γε οἱ τῶν στασιαστών<sup>2</sup> λόγοι, ἀλλ' ἐκύρωσε  
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τῇ Σπορίου  
 Λαρκίου γνώμῃ τε καὶ παρακλήσει χρησάμενος.  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπατοί·  
 στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οὐ μακρὰν  
 ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup> τῆς πόλεως καὶ μέιναντες ἡμέρας συχνάς,  
 ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀντεξῆγον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς δυνάμεις,  
 προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ὅσῃν ἐδύναντο  
 πλείστην ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. ἄλλο  
 δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν  
 ἐπράχθη.

<sup>1</sup> κοινὸν O : δεινὸν Post.

<sup>2</sup> Portus, Sylburg : στρατιωτῶν O.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ B : om. R.

the army. There was a controversy,<sup>1</sup> to be sure, over the decree, and there were many who opposed engaging in the war and reminded the plebeians of the allotment of land, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, though the senate had passed the decree four years before; and they declared that there would be a general<sup>2</sup> war if all Tyrrhenia by common consent should assist their countrymen. However, the arguments of the seditious speakers did not prevail, but the populace also confirmed the decree of the senate, following the opinion and advice of Spurius Larcius. Thereupon the consuls marched out with their forces and encamped apart at no great distance from the city<sup>3</sup>; but after they had remained there a good many days and the enemy did not lead their forces out to meet them, they ravaged as large a part of their country as they could and then returned home with the army. Nothing else worthy of notice happened during their consulship.

<sup>1</sup> This was in the assembly; see just below.

<sup>2</sup> Post would emend "general" to "formidable."

<sup>3</sup> Veii is meant.

# ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΑΤΟΣ

Ι. Τῷ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει διαφορᾷς γενομένης τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθησομένων ὑπάτων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίουσαν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγεῖν, ὃ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῷ κεχαρισμένων) γνωσιμαχήσαντες<sup>1</sup> τέλος<sup>2</sup> συνέπεισαν ἀλλήλους ἀφ' ἐκάστης μερίδος ὑπατον αἰρεθῆναι· καὶ ἀποδείκνυται Καίσιων μὲν Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὃ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας, Σπόριος δὲ Φούριος ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Καλλιάρχου, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐστράτευσε<sup>3</sup> Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἄρτι δὲ παρεληφότες αὐτῶν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος after γνωσιμαχήσαντες deleted by Cobet. <sup>2</sup> τέλος Portus : τέως ACmg, ἕως BC.

<sup>3</sup> Portus : ἐστρατοπέδευσε O.

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 1-4 cf. Livy ii. 43.

<sup>2</sup> 479 B.C. Dionysius synchronized each Roman consul-

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS  
BOOK IX

I. The following year,<sup>1</sup> a dispute having arisen between the populace and the senate concerning the men who were to be elected consuls, the senators demanding that both men promoted to that magistracy should be of the aristocratic party and the populace demanding that they be chosen from among such as were agreeable to them, after an obstinate struggle they finally convinced each other that a consul should be chosen from each party. Thus Caeso Fabius, who had accused Cassius of aiming at tyranny, was elected consul, for the second time, on the part of the senate, and Spurius Furius on the part of the populace, in the seventy-fifth Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> Calliades being archon at Athens, at the time when Xerxes made his expedition against Greece. They had no sooner taken office than ambassadors of the

ship with the Greek year in the course of which it began (see vol. i. pp. xxx f.). Calliades was archon in 480/79, and the arrival of Xerxes in Greece came at about the time he assumed office.

ἀρχὴν Λατίνων τε πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν  
 δεόμενοι πέμψαι σφίσι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μετὰ  
 δυνάμεως, ὃς οὐκ ἔασει προσωτέρω χωρεῖν τὴν  
 Αἰκανῶν καταφρόνησιν, καὶ Τυρρηνία πᾶσα ἡγγέλ-  
 λετο κεκινημένη καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ χωρήσουσα εἰς  
 πόλεμον. συνήχθη γὰρ εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ  
 ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ Οὐιεντανῶν δεηθέντων συνάρα-  
 σθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου, τέλος  
 ἐξήνεγκεν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Τυρρηνῶν μετ-  
 ἔχειν τῆς στρατείας· καὶ ἐγένετο χεὶρ ἀξιόμαχος ἡ  
 τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς ἐκουσίως τοῦ πολέμου συναραμένη.  
 ταῦτα μαθοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων ἔδοξε στρα-  
 τιάς τε καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέ-  
 ρους ἐξιέναι, τὸν μὲν Αἰκανοῖς τε πολεμήσοντα καὶ  
 Λατίνοις τιμωρὸν ἐσόμενον, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> ἄξοντα τὰς δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραττε δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα  
 Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος<sup>2</sup> τῶν δημάρχων εἷς· καὶ συνάγων  
 εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ὅσημέραι τὰς περὶ τῆς  
 κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις ἀπῆτει παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς  
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἔφη συγχωρήσειν οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλε-  
 μον<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ψηφιζομένων  
 ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας ἀποδεί-  
 ξωσι πρῶτον<sup>4</sup> ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, καὶ  
<sup>4</sup> διέλωσι τὴν γῆν, ὥς ὑπέσχοντο, τῷ δήμῳ. ἀπορου-  
 μένη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀμηχανούσῃ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν,  
 Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὑποτίθεται σκοπεῖν ὅπως δια-  
 στήσεται τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 διδάσκων ὅτι τὸν κωλύοντα καὶ ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον  
 τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς βουλῆς ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ νόμῳ τῇν

<sup>1</sup> Naber : τυρρηνίας O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : σικίλιος O (and so in later chapters).

<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλεμον Sintenis : ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων O.

Latins came to the senate asking them to send to them one of the consuls with an army to put a check to the insolence of the Aequians, and at the same time word was brought that all Tyrrhenia was aroused and would soon go to war. For that nation had been convened in a general assembly and at the urgent solicitation of the Veientes for aid in their war against the Romans had passed a decree that any of the Tyrrhenians who so desired might take part in the campaign; and it was a sufficiently strong body of men that voluntarily aided the Veientes in the war. Upon learning of this the authorities in Rome resolved to raise armies and also that both consuls should take the field, one to make war on the Aequians and to aid the Latins, and the other to march with his forces against Tyrrhenia. All this was opposed by Spurius Icilius,<sup>1</sup> one of the tribunes, who, assembling the populace every day, demanded of the senate the performance of its promises relating to the allotment of land and said that he would allow none of their decrees, whether they concerned military or civil affairs, to take effect unless they should first appoint the decemvirs to fix the boundaries of the public land and divide it among the people as they had promised. When the senate was at a loss and did not know what to do, Appius Claudius suggested that they should consider how the other tribunes might be brought to dissent from Icilius, pointing out that there is no other method of putting an end to the power of a tribune who opposes and obstructs the decrees of the

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. give this name here and below as Sicilius. Livy calls him Licinius.

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<sup>4</sup> πρώτων Ο : πρότερον Kiessling, Jacoby.

ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστι παῦσαι τῆς  
 δυναστείας, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἕτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης  
 τιμῆς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων τὰναντία  
 πράττη<sup>1</sup> καί, οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐμποδὼν γίνηται,<sup>2</sup>  
 5 ταῦτα κελεύη.<sup>3</sup> συνεβούλευέ τε τοῖς αὖθις παρα-  
 ληψομένοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπάτοις τοῦτο πράττειν καὶ  
 σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐξουσί τινος αἰὲ τῶν δημάρχων  
 οἰκείους σφίσι καὶ φίλους, μίαν εἶναι λέγων τῆς  
 ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀρχείου κατάλυσιν, ἐὰν στασιάζωσι  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες.

II. Ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου  
 δόξαντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς παραινεῖν οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατώτατοι πολλῇ θεραπείᾳ<sup>4</sup> δι-  
 επράξαντο τοὺς τέτταρας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων οἰκεί-  
 2 οὺς τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν λόγῳ  
 μεταπεῖθιν τὸν Ἰκίλιον ἐπεχείρουν ἀποστῆναι τῶν  
 περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολιτευμάτων ἕως οἱ πόλεμοι  
 λάβωσι τέλος· ὡς δ' ἠναντιοῦτο καὶ διώμνυτο, λόγον  
 τέ τιν' <sup>5</sup> αὐθαδέστερον<sup>6</sup> εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ δήμου  
 παρόντος, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν βούλοιο Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους κρατήσαντας τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐπιδεῖν ἢ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν χώραν τὴν δημοσίαν  
 ἀφεῖναι, δόξαντες ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι καλὴν πρὸς  
 αὐθάδειαν τοσαύτην τοῦ τὰναντία λέγειν τε καὶ  
 πράττειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν λόγον ἡδέως δεξα-  
 μένου, κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἔφησαν, καὶ φανερώς ἔπρατ-  
 τον ὅσα τῇ βουλῇ τε καὶ<sup>7</sup> τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοκοίη·

<sup>1</sup> πράττη B : πράττειν R.

<sup>2</sup> γίνηται AB : γένηται Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> κελεύη Naber : κωλύη B, Jacoby, κωλύειν R, μὴ κωλύη Reiske.



senate, since his person is sacred and this authority of his legal, than for another of the men of equal rank and possessing the same power to oppose him and to order to be done what the other tries to obstruct. And he advised all succeeding consuls to do this and to consider how they might always have some of the tribunes well disposed and friendly to them, saying that the only method of destroying the power of their college was to sow dissension among its members.

II. When Appius had expressed this opinion, both the consuls and the more influential of the others, believing his advice to be sound, courted the other four tribunes so effectually as to make them well disposed toward the senate. These for a time endeavoured by argument to persuade Icilius to desist from his course with respect to the allotment of land till the wars should come to an end. But when he kept opposing them and swore that he would continue to do so, and had the assurance to make a rather insolent remark in the presence of the populace to the effect that he had rather see the Tyrrhenians and their other enemies masters of the city than leave unpunished those who were occupying the public land, they thought they had got an excellent opportunity for opposing so great insolence both by their words and by their acts, and since even the populace showed displeasure at his remark, they said they interposed their veto; and they openly pursued such measures as were agreeable to both the senate and the consuls. Thus Icilius being de-

<sup>4</sup> *θεραπεία* B : *δυναστεία* R.

<sup>6</sup> *αὐθαδέστατον* Sylburg.

<sup>5</sup> *τιν'* Post : *τὸν* O, Jacoby.

<sup>7</sup> *τε καὶ* B : *ἤ* R.

3 μονωθεῖς δ' Ἰκίλιος οὐδενὸς ἔτι κύριος ἦν. μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ στρατιὰ κατεγράφετο, καὶ ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ· καὶ διὰ τάχους οἱ ὑπατοὶ διακληρωσάμενοι τὰ στρατεύματα ἐξήεσαν, Σπόριος μὲν Φούριος ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Καίσων δὲ Φάβιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνούς.

4 Σπορίῳ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησεν οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς στρατείας ἐξεγένετο χρήματά τε καὶ σώματα λαβεῖν. ἐπῆλθε γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσαν ὄσσην οἱ πολέμιοι χώραν κατεῖχον, ἄγων καὶ φέρων, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπαντα ἐχαρίσατο.

5 δοκῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον εἶναι φιλόδημος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας ἐθεράπευσε τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρήλθεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς στρατείας, ἄγων<sup>1</sup> τὴν δύναμιν ὀλόκληρόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῇ χρήμασιν εὖπορον κατέστησε τὴν πατρίδα.

III. Καίσων δὲ Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, οὐδενὸς χεῖρον στρατηγήσας, ἀφηρέθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔπαινον παρ' οὐδὲν ἀμάρτημα ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ δημοτικὸν οὐκ εἶχε κεχαρισμένον<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὑπατον Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας<sup>3</sup> ἀπέ-  
2 κτεινεν. οὔτε γὰρ ὅσα δέοι σὺν τάχει στρατηγῶ κελεύσαντι τοὺς ὑπηκόους πειθαρχεῖν, οὔθ' ὅσα τῷ προθύμῳ καὶ πρέποντι<sup>4</sup> χρησαμένους βία κατασχεῖν, οὔθ' ὅσα λάθρα τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων<sup>5</sup> χωρία εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ἄγων O : ἀπάγων Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> κεχαρισμένον C : μένον R, εὖνον Sintenis.

<sup>3</sup> κρίνας B : προσαγγεῖλας A, Jacoby, εἰσαγγεῖλας C.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ πρέποντι O : ἐν πρέποντι Reiske, ἐν πρέποντι καιρῷ Kayser, ἐπιτρέποντας καὶ Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> Reiske : ἀντιπολέμων O.

served by his colleagues, no longer had any authority. After this the army was raised and everything that was necessary for the war was supplied, partly from public and partly from private sources, with all possible alacrity; and the consuls, having drawn lots for the armies, set out in haste, Spurius Furius marching against the cities of the Aequians and Caeso Fabius against the Tyrrhenians. In the case of Spurius everything succeeded according to his wish, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement, so that in this expedition he had the opportunity of taking much booty in both money and slaves. For he overran almost all the territory that the enemy possessed, carrying and driving off everything, and he gave all the spoils to the soldiers. Though he had been regarded even before this time as a friend of the people, he gained the favour of the multitude still more by his conduct in this command; and when the season for military operations was over, he brought his army home intact and unscathed, and made the fatherland rich with the money he had taken.

III. Caeso Fabius, the other consul, though as a general his performance was second to none, was nevertheless deprived of the praise that his achievements deserved, not through any fault of his own, but because he did not enjoy the goodwill of the plebeians from the time when he had denounced and put to death the consul Cassius for aiming at a tyranny. For they never showed any alacrity either in those matters in which men under authority ought to yield a prompt obedience to the orders of their general, or when they should through eagerness and a sense of duty seize positions by force, or when it was necessary

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πλεονεξίαν εὐθεται σφετερίσασθαι, οὐτ' ἄλλο πράτ-  
 τειν οὐδὲν ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐξ οὗ τιμὴν τινα ὁ στρατ-  
 ηγὸς καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν ἐξοίσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ  
 τὰλλα μὲν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
 διετέλουν, ἐκείνῳ τε<sup>2</sup> ἥττον λυπηρὰ ἦν καὶ τῇ  
 πόλει βλάβης οὐ μεγάλης αἷτια,<sup>3</sup> ὃ δὲ τελευτῶντες  
 ἐξειργάσαντο κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ἤνεγκε καὶ πολλὴν  
 3 αἰσχύνην ἀμφοῖν. γενομένης γὰρ παρατάξεως ἐν  
 τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν λόφων ἐφ' οἷς ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευ-  
 κότες ἀμφοτέροι πάσῃ τῇ παρ' ἐκατέρων δυνάμει,  
 πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι καὶ τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους ἀναγκάσαντες ἄρξαι φυγῆς, οὐτ' ἠκολούθησαν  
 ἀπιούσι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ ἐπικελεύοντος οὔτε  
 παραμείναντες ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τὸν χάρακα ἠθέλη-  
 σαν, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντες ἀτελὲς ἔργον καλὸν ἀπήεσαν  
 4 εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεῖαν. ἐπιχειρησάντων δ'  
 αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ὑπάτον ἀναγορευσαί τινων μέγα  
 ἐμβοήσαντες<sup>4</sup> ἀθρόοι κακιζούσῃ τῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἡγε-  
 μόνα ἐλοιδόρουν, ὥς πολλοὺς σφῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς  
 ἀπολωλεκότα δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ στρατηγεῖν· καὶ  
 ἄλλῃ πολλῇ βλασφημίᾳ καὶ ἀγανακτῆσει χρησά-  
 μενοι λύειν τὸν χάρακα καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἡξίου, ὥς οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἐσομένους, εἰς ἐπ-  
 5 ἰώσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, δευτέραν ὑπομεῖναι μάχην. καὶ  
 οὔτε μεταδιδάσκοντος ἐπείθοντο τοῦ ἡγεμόνος,  
 οὔτε ὀλοφυρομένου καὶ ἰκετεύοντος ἔπασχόν τι  
 πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις, οὔτε ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἀνατάσεις,  
 ὁπότε καὶ ταύταις χρήσαιτο, δι' εὐλαβείας ἐλάμ-

<sup>1</sup> Steph. : om. ABC.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : δὲ O.

<sup>3</sup> αἷτια Sylburg : ἄξια O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : ἐμβοησάντων AB.

to occupy advantageous positions without the knowledge of the enemy, or in anything else from which the general would derive any honour and good repute. Most of their conduct, to be sure, by which they were continually insulting their general was neither very troublesome to him nor the occasion of any great harm to the commonwealth ; but their final action brought no small danger and great disgrace to both. For when the two armies had arrayed themselves in battle order in the space between the hills on which their camps were placed, using all the forces on either side, and the Romans had performed many gallant deeds and forced the enemy to begin flight, they neither pursued them as they retreated, notwithstanding the repeated exhortations of the general, nor were they willing to remain and take the enemy's camp by siege ; on the contrary, they left a glorious action unfinished and returned to their own camp. And when some of the soldiers attempted to salute the consul as *imperator*, all the rest joined in a loud outcry, reproaching and taunting their commander with the loss of many of their brave comrades through his want of ability to command ; and after many other insulting and indignant remarks they demanded that he break camp and lead them back to Rome, pretending that they would be unable, if the enemy attacked them, to sustain a second battle. And they neither gave heed when their commander endeavoured to show them the error of their course, nor were moved by his entreaties when he turned to lamentations and supplications, nor were they alarmed by the violence of his threats when he made

βανον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντα τραχυνόμενοι ταῦτα διέμενον. τοσαύτη δ' ἀναρχία καὶ καταφρόνησις τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> παρέστη ὥστε περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξαναστάντες τάς τε σκηναὶς ἔλυνον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐβάσταζον οὐδενὸς κελεύσαντος.

IV. Ταῦτα ὁ στρατηγὸς μαθὼν ἠναγκάσθη πᾶσι δοῦναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῆς ἐξόδου δείσας τὴν ἀναρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ θράσος. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ φυγῆς ἀνασωζόμενοι τάχει πολλῶ συνάπτουσι τῇ πόλει περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι φίλιον ἦν στράτευμα, ὄπλα τ' ἐνεδύνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνεκάλουν, ἢ τ' ἄλλη πόλεις, ὥς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγάλη, ταραχῆς ἐγεγόνει μεστή καὶ θορύβου· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνέωξαν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας οἱ φύλακες ἢ<sup>2</sup> λαμπράν τε ἡμέραν γενέσθαι καὶ γνωσθῆναι τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα· ὥστε πρὸς τῇ αἰσχύνῃ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἠνέγκαντο καὶ κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον αὐτοὺς ἀναρρῖψαι σκότους ἀπιόντας διὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἀτάκτως. εἴ γοῦν τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ ποδὸς<sup>3</sup> ἀπιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἠκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσεν ἅπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τὴν στρατιάν. τῆς δ' ἀλόγου ταύτης ἀπάρσεως ἢ φυγῆς τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μῖσος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, αἵτιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ φθόνος τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς, ἵνα μὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῇ κοσμηθεὶς ἐπιφανέστατος γένηται. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἄπαρσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων νεκρούς τ' αὐτῶν ἐσκύλευ-

<sup>1</sup> τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν Post (cf. chap. 9, 4) : πᾶσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ B : ἕως AC.



use of these too ; but they continued exasperated in the face of all these appeals. Indeed, some of them were possessed with such a spirit of disobedience and such contempt for their general that they rose up about midnight and without orders from anyone proceeded to strike their tents, take up their arms, and carry off their wounded.

IV. When the general was informed of this, he was forced to give the command for all to depart, so great was his fear of their disobedience and audacity. And the soldiers retired with as great precipitation as if they were saving themselves from a rout, and reached the city about daybreak. The guards upon the walls, not knowing that it was an army of friends, began to arm themselves and call out to one another, while all the rest of the city was full of confusion and turmoil, as if some great disaster had occurred ; and the guards did not open the gates to them till it was broad day and they could distinguish their own army. Thus, in addition to the ignominy they incurred in deserting their camp, they also exposed themselves to great danger in returning in the dark through the enemy's country, without observing any order. Certainly, if the Tyrrhenians had learned of it and had followed close on their heels as they departed, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. The motive of this unaccountable withdrawal or flight was, as I have said, the hatred of the populace against the general and the begrudging of any honour to him, lest he should be granted a triumph and so acquire the greatest glory. The next day the Tyrrhenians, having learned of the withdrawal of the Romans, stripped their dead, took

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<sup>3</sup> ἐκ ποδὸς Sylburg : ἐκ παντὸς O.



σαν καὶ τραυματίας ἀράμενοι ἀπήνεγκαν τὰς τε καταλειφθείσας ἐν τῷ χάρακι παρασκευάς (πολλὰ δ' ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χρόνιον παρεσκευασμέναι<sup>1</sup> πόλεμον) διεφόρησαν, καὶ ὡς δὴ κρατοῦντες<sup>2</sup> τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐγγυτάτῳ λεηλατήσαντες ἀπήγον τὴν στρατιάν.

V. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι, Γνάιος Μάλλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχειν αἰρεθείς, ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς ποιησάμενης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν, ὅσον ἂν πλείστον δυνηθῶσι, προὔθηκαν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν κατάλογον ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς. γινομένου δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ κωλύσει τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων, Τιβερίου Ποντοφικίου, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα ἀνακαλουμένου, θεραπεύσαντες τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ τινας, ὥσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὕπατοι, διέστησαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ. γενομένης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξήεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, δύο μὲν ἐκάτερος ἄγων Ῥωμαίων τάγματα τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καταγραφέντων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ ταύτης χεῖρα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποίκων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων ἀποσταλείσαν. ἀφίκετο δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνους διπλάσιον τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπικουρικόν.<sup>3</sup> οὐ μὴν ἐχρήσαντό γε παντί<sup>4</sup>. πολλὴν δὲ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι φήσαντες τῆς προθυμίας ἀπέλυσαν τῆς ἀποσταλείσης δυνάμεως τὴν ἡμίσειαν. ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως

<sup>1</sup> ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χ. παρεσκευασμέναι Steph. : ἦσαν ἐσκευασμέναι ὡς εἰς χ. παρεσκευασμέναι ABC.

up and carried off their wounded, and plundered all the stores they had left in their camp, which were very abundant as having been prepared for a long war; then, like conquerors, they laid waste the adjacent territory of the enemy, after which they returned home with their army.

V. The succeeding consuls,<sup>1</sup> Gnaeus Manlius and Marcus Fabius (the latter chosen for the second time), in pursuance of a decree of the senate ordering them to march against the Veientes with as large an army as they could raise, appointed a day for levying the troops. When Tiberius Pontificius, one of the tribunes, opposed them by forbidding the levy and called upon them to carry out the decree relating to the allotment of land, they courted some of his colleagues, as their predecessors had done, and thus divided the college of tribunes, after which they proceeded to carry out the will of the senate with full liberty. The levy being completed in a few days, the consuls took the field against the enemy, each of them having with him two legions of Romans raised in the city itself and a force no less numerous sent by their colonies and subjects. Indeed, there came to them from the Latin and the Hernican nations double the number of auxiliaries they had called for; they did not, however, make use of this entire force, but stating that they were very grateful for their zeal, they dismissed one half of the army that had been sent. They also drew up before the city a third army,

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 5-13 cf. Livy ii. 43, 11-47, 12.

<sup>2</sup> ὥς δὴ κρατοῦντες Cb : ὥς δημοκρατοῦντες ABCa, ὥς ἡδη κρατοῦντες Sylburg, ὥς δῆλοι κρατοῦντες Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπικουρικόν Reiske : ἐπικουρικοῦ O.

<sup>4</sup> παντί B : πάντῃ AC, τῷ παντὶ Hertlein.

τρίτον ἐκ δυεῖν ταγμάτων τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατόν, φύλακα τῆς χώρας ἐσόμενον, εἴ τις ἑτέρα δύναμις πολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου φανείη· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον οἷς ἔτι δύναμις ἦν ὅπλων χρήσεως ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπον ἄκρας τε καὶ τείχη φυλάζοντας.

- 4 Ἀγαγόντες δὲ πλησίον τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως τὰς δυνάμεις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσὶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκόσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις ἐξεστρατευμένη πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πολλή τε καὶ ἀγαθή. συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας οἱ δυνατώτατοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πενέστας ἐπαγόμενοι, καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ  
5 στρατοῦ μείζον τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγω. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις τό τε πλῆθος ὁρῶσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὅπλων πολὺν δέος ἐνέπεσε μή ποτ' οὐχ ἱκανοὶ γένωνται στασιαζούσῃ δυνάμει τῇ σφετέρᾳ πρὸς ὁμονοοῦσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιταξάμενοι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς ὄχυνω-  
σαμένοις τὰ στρατόπεδα τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκδεχομένοις εἴ τινα δώσει πλεονεξίας ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων θράσος ἀλογίστῳ καταφρονήσει ἐπαρθέν. ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαὶ βραχεῖαι, μέγα δ' ἡ λαμπρὸν ἔργον οὐδέν.

VI. Οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου δειλίαν τε ὠνείδιζον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην, καὶ ὥς παρακεχωρηκότων αὐτῶν σφίσι τῆς ὑπαίθρου μέγα ἐφρόνουν. καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπήρθησαν εἰς ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου στρατοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν τῶν ὑπάτων  
2 δόξαντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. τοῦ γὰρ  
300

consisting of two legions of the younger men, to serve as a garrison for the country in case any other hostile force should unexpectedly make its appearance ; the men who were above the military age but still had strength sufficient to bear arms they left in the city to guard the citadels and the walls.

When the consuls had led their forces close to the city of Veii, they encamped on two hills not far apart. The enemy's army, which was both large and valiant, had also taken the field and lay encamped before the city. For the most influential men from all Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependents, with the result that the Tyrrhenians' army was not a little larger than that of the Romans. When the consuls saw the numbers of the enemy and the lustre of their arms, great fear came upon them lest, with their own forces rent by faction, they might not be able to prevail when arrayed against the harmonious forces of the enemy ; and they determined to fortify their camps and to prolong the war in the hope that the boldness of the enemy, encouraged by an ill-advised contempt for them, might afford them some opportunity of acting with advantage. After this there were continual skirmishes and brief clashes of the light-armed troops, but no important or signal action.

VI. The Tyrrhenians, being irked by the prolongation of the war, taunted the Romans with cowardice because they would not come out for battle, and believing that their foes had abandoned the field to them, they were greatly elated. They were still further inspired with scorn for the Roman army and contempt for the consuls when they thought that even the gods were fighting on their side. For

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<sup>1</sup> Reiske : τὸν Ο.

ἑτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Γναίου Μαλλίου κεραυνὸς εἰς  
 τὸ στρατήγιον ἐμπεσὼν τὴν τε σκηνὴν διέσπασε  
 καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν ἀνέτρεψε<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων  
 ὅπλων τὰ μὲν ἐσπίλωσε, τὰ δὲ περιέκαυσε, τὰ δ'  
 εἰς τέλος ἠφάνισεν· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν λαμπρό-  
 τaton αὐτοῦ τῶν ἵππων, ᾧ παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας  
 3 ἐχρήτο, καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τινάς. λεγόντων δὲ  
 τῶν μάντεων τοῦ τε χάρακος ἄλωςιν προσημαίνειν  
 τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπ-  
 ὤλειαν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάλλιος ἀπῆγε  
 περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα καὶ μετὰ  
 4 τοῦ συνάρχοντος κατεστρατοπέδευσε. μαθόντες  
 οὖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπανάστασιν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
 καὶ δι' αἷς αἰτίας ἐγένετο παρὰ τινων αἰχμαλώτων  
 ἀκούσαντες ἐπήρθησάν τε ταῖς γνώμαις ἔτι μᾶλλον,  
 ὥς πολεμοῦντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ  
 πολλὴν εἶχον ἐλπίδα κρατήσῃν αὐτῶν· οἱ τε μάντεις  
 ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλοθί που δοκοῦντες ἐξητακέναι  
 τὰ μετάρσια, πόθεν τε αἱ τῶν κεραυνῶν γίνονται  
 βολαὶ καὶ τίνες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται μετὰ τὰς πλη-  
 γὰς ἀπιόντας τόποι, θεῶν τε οἷς ἕκαστοι ἀποδίδον-  
 ται καὶ τίνων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν μηνυταί, χωρεῖν  
 ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρήνουν διαιρούμενοι τὸ  
 γενόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σημεῖον κατὰ τάδε·  
 5 ἐπειδὴ τὸ βέλος εἰς ὑπάτου σκηνὴν κατέσκηψεν, ἐν  
 ἣ τὸ στρατήγιον ἐνῆν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἄχρι τῆς  
 ἐστίας ἠφάνισεν, ὅλη προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον  
 τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ χάρακος ἔκλειψιν βία κρατηθέντος  
 6 καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὅλεθρον. “Εἰ μὲν οὖν,”  
 ἔφασαν, “ἔμειναν ἐν ᾧ κατέσκηψε χωρίῳ τὸ βέλος  
 οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ μετηνέγκαντο τὰ σημεῖα

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : ἀνέστρεψε AB.

a thunderbolt, falling upon the headquarters of Gnaeus Manlius, one of the consuls, tore the tent in pieces, overturned the hearth, and tarnished some of the weapons of war, while scorching or completely destroying others. It killed also the finest of his horses, the one he used in battle, and some of his servants. And when the augurs declared that the gods were foretelling the capture of the camp and the death of the most important persons in it, Manlius roused his forces about midnight and led them to the other camp, where he took up quarters with his colleague. The Tyrrhenians, learning of the general's departure and hearing from some of the prisoners the reasons for his action, grew still more elated in mind, since it seemed that the gods were making war upon the Romans ; and they entertained great hopes of conquering them. For their augurs, who are reputed to have investigated with greater accuracy than those anywhere else the signs that appear in the sky, determining where the thunderbolts come from, what quarters receive them when they depart after striking, to which of the gods each kind of bolt is assigned, and what good or evil it portends, advised them to engage the enemy, interpreting the omen which had appeared to the Romans on this wise : Since the bolt had fallen upon the consul's tent, which was the army's headquarters, and had utterly destroyed it even to its hearth, the gods were foretelling to the whole army the wiping out of their camp after it should be taken by storm, and the death of the principal persons in it. " If, now," they said, " the occupants of the place where the bolt fell had remained there instead of removing their standards

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<sup>2</sup> ἀπανάστασιν B : ἀπόστασιν R.



ὥς τοὺς ἑτέρους, μιᾶς τε παρεμβολῆς ἀλώσει καὶ ἑνὸς ὀλέθρῳ στρατοῦ τὸ νεμεσῶν αὐτοῖς δαιμόνιον ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἂν τὸν χόλον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σοφώτεροι τῶν θεῶν εἶναι ζητοῦντες εἰς τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο,<sup>1</sup> καταλιπόντες ἔρημον τὸν τόπον, ὥς οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θεοῦ προδηλοῦντος τὰς συμφοράς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τόποις, κοινὸς ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἦξει χόλος, τοῖς τε  
 7 ἀπαναστᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις. καὶ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλῶναι σφῶν τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα βία θείας ἐπιθεσπιζούσης ἀνάγκης οὐ περιέμειναν τὸ χρεῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ παρέδωκαν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐκεῖνος ὁ χάραξ ὁ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑποδεξάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀλώσεται βία κρατηθεῖς.”

VII. Ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν μάντεων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀκούσαντες μέρει τινὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐρημωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταλαμβάνονται στρατοπεδεῖαν ὥς ἐπιτείχισμα ποιησόμενοι τῆς ἑτέρας· ἦν δὲ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰοῦσι κωλύσεως ἐν καλῷ κείμενον. πραγματευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξ ὧν πλεονεκτήσῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλον, ἐξῆγον  
 2 εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὰς δυνάμεις. μενόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ἡσυχίας προσιππεύοντες ἐξ<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν οἱ τολμηρότατοι καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος ἰστάμενοι, γυναικᾶς τε ἀπεκάλουν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν τοῖς δειλοτάτοις τῶν ζώων ἑοικέναι λέγοντες ἐκάκιζον, καὶ δυεῖν θάτερον ἡξίου· εἰ μὲν ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς,

<sup>1</sup> μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο B : μετεστρατοπέδευσαν R.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ B : πρὸς R.



to the other army, the divinity who was wroth with them would have satisfied his anger with the capture of a single camp and the destruction of a single army ; but since they endeavoured to be wiser than the gods and changed their quarters to the other camp, leaving the place deserted, as if the god had signified that the calamities should fall, not upon the men, but upon the places, the divine wrath will come upon all of them alike, both upon those who departed and upon those who received them. And since, when destiny had foretold that one camp should be taken by storm, they did not wait for their fate, but of their own accord handed their camp over to the enemy, the camp which received the deserted camp<sup>1</sup> shall be taken by storm instead of the one that was abandoned."

VII. The Tyrrhenians, hearing this from their augurs, sent a part of their army to take possession of the camp deserted by the Romans, with the intention of making it a fort to serve against the other camp. For the place was a very strong one and was conveniently situated for intercepting any who might come from Rome to the enemy's camp. After they had also made the other dispositions calculated to give them an advantage over the enemy, they led out their forces into the plain. Then, when the Romans remained quiet, the boldest of the Tyrrhenians rode up and, halting near the camp, called them all women and taunted their leaders, likening them to the most cowardly of animals ; and they challenged them to do one of two things—either to descend into the plain, if they laid claim to any war-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, the men from the deserted camp. The word "camp" in this passage refers now to the site, now to the occupants.

καταβάντας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον μιᾷ τὸν ἀγῶνα κρῖναι μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι κακοί, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ δίκας ὑποσχόντας ὧν ἔδρασαν μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν μεγάλων ἑαυτοὺς ἀξιοῦν. 3 τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ὅσημέραι καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀποτεριχίζειν αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν ὥς λιμῶ προσαναγκά-  
 σοντες παραστήναι. οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ περιεώρων τὰ γινόμενα μέχρι πολλοῦ, δι' ἀνανδρίαν μὲν ἢ μαλα-  
 κίαν οὐδεμίαν (ἀμφότεροι γὰρ εὐψυχοί τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμοι ἦσαν), τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐθελό-  
 κακόν τε καὶ ἀπρόθυμον, διαμένον ἐν τοῖς δημοτι-  
 κοῖς ἐξ οὗ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας διεστασίασαν, ὑφορώμενοι· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔναυλα καὶ πρὸ ὀμμά-  
 των ἦν ἃ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔγκοτον  
 τῆς πρὸς<sup>1</sup> τὸν ὑπατον τιμῆς -αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀνάξια  
 τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσαντο, παραχωρήσαντες τῆς νίκης  
 τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσι καὶ φυγῆς ὄνειδος οὐκ ἀληθὲς ὑπο-  
 μείναντες, ἵνα μὴ καταγάγῃ τὸν ἐπινίκιον θρίαμβον  
 ὁ ἀνὴρ.

VIII. Βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς στρατι-  
 ας ἐξελεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ καταστήσαι πάλιν εἰς  
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμόνοιαν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ εἰς ἓν  
 τοῦτο πᾶσαν εἰσφερόμενοι βουλήν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν,  
 ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κολάσει μέρους τινὸς σωφρονέστερον  
 ἀποδοῦναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν, πολὺ καὶ αὐθαδὲς ὑπάρχον  
 καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχον, οὔτε πειθοῖ  
 προσαγαγέσθαι λόγων τοὺς οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup> πεισθῆναι βου-  
 λομένους, δύο ταύτας ὑπέλαβον ἔσεσθαι<sup>3</sup> τῶν  
 στασιαζόντων αἰτίας τῆς διαλλαγῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς O : περὶ Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : οὔτε O.

<sup>3</sup> ἔσεσθαι B : om. R.

like valour, and decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they owned themselves to be cowards, to deliver up their arms to those who were their betters, and after paying the penalty for their deeds, never again to hold themselves worthy of greatness. This they did every day, and when it had no effect, they resolved to block them off by a wall with the purpose of starving them into surrender. The consuls permitted this to go on for a considerable time, not through any cowardice or weakness—for they were both men of spirit and fond of war—but because they feared the soldiers' wilful shirking of duty and their apathy, which had persisted among the plebeians ever since the sedition over the allotment of land. For they still had ringing in their ears and fresh before their eyes the shameful behaviour, unworthy of the commonwealth, which the soldiers, because of their begrudging the honour that would come to the consul, had been guilty of the year before, when they had yielded up the victory to the vanquished and endured the false reproach of flight in order that their general might not celebrate the triumph awarded for victory.

VIII. Desiring, therefore, to banish sedition from the army once and for all and to restore the whole rank and file to their original harmony, and devoting to this single end all their counsel and all their thought, since it was not in their power by punishing some of them to reform the rest, who were numerous, bold, and had arms in their hands, or to attempt by the persuasion of words to win over those who did not even wish to be persuaded, they assumed that the following two motives would bring about the reconciliation of the seditious : first, for those of a more

εικεστέρας μετειληφόσι φύσεως (ἐνὴν γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ<sup>1</sup>) τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς τῶν πολεμίων αἰσχύνην, τοῖς δὲ δυσαγώγοις ἐπὶ τὸ καλόν, ἣν ἅπασα δέδοικεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀνάγκην.

2 ἵνα δὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο ἀμφοτέρω, ἐφῆκαν τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγῳ τε αἰσχύνειν κακίζοντας σφῶν ὡς ἄνανδρον τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἔργοις ὑπεροψίας τε καὶ καταφρονήσεως πολλοῖς<sup>2</sup> γινομένοις<sup>3</sup> ἀναγκάζειν ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐκουσίως εἶναι μὴ βουλομένους. γινομένων γὰρ τούτων πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἅπαντας ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ καταβοῶντας καὶ κελεύοντας ἡγεῖσθαι

3 σφῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὡς γὰρ ἤρξαντο τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ χάρακος ἀποταφρεύειν τε καὶ ἀποσταυροῦν οἱ πολέμιοι, δυσανασχετήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, τέως μὲν κατ' ὀλίγους, ἔπειτ' ἀθρόοι συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκεκράγεσάν τε καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλουν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἡγήσεται σφίσι τῆς ἐξόδου, δίχα ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς

4 πολεμίους ἔλεγον ἐξελεύσεσθαι. ὡς δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγένετο τοῦτο, παρεῖναι τὸν χρόνον ὃν περιέμενον οἱ στρατηγοὶ νομίσαντες ἐκέλευον τοῖς ὑπηρέταις συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ προελθὼν Φάβιος τοιαύδε εἶπε·

IX. “ Βραδεῖα μὲν ἡ ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν γίνεται περὶ ὧν ὑβρίζεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἄνδρες στρα-

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ πολλῷ πλήθει Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Cary : πολλῆς O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> γινομένοις Kiessling, γενομένοις Sintenis : γινομένης B, γενομένης AC, γέμουσιν Reiske, om. Kayser.

reasonable disposition (for there was an admixture of these also among the mass of the troops), the shame of being taunted by the enemy, and second, for those who were not easily led to adopt the honourable course, the thing of which all human nature stands in dread—necessity. In order, then, to accomplish both these results, they allowed the enemy not only to shame them by words, as when they branded their inaction as cowardice, but also by repeated deeds of scorn and contempt<sup>1</sup> to compel those to show themselves brave men who were not disposed to be so of their own accord. For if these insults should be continued, they had great hopes that all the soldiers would come to headquarters, giving vent to their indignation, reproaching the consuls, and demanding that they lead them against the enemy; and that is just what happened. For when the enemy began to block the outlets of the camp with ditches and palisades, the Romans, growing indignant at their action, ran to the tents of the consuls, first in small numbers and then in a body, and crying out, accused them of treachery, and declared that if no one would lead them in a sortie, they themselves would take their arms and without their generals sally out against the enemy. This being the general cry, the consuls thought the opportunity for which they had been waiting had now come, and they ordered the lictors to call the troops to an assembly. Then Fabius, coming forward, spoke as follows :

IX. “Long delayed is your indignation at the insults you are receiving from the enemy, soldiers and

<sup>1</sup> The text is uncertain here. Reiske wished to read “by deeds full of great scorn and contempt”; Kayser proposed “by deeds of great scorn and contempt.”

τιῶταί τε καὶ ἡγεμόνες· καὶ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐκάστου  
 χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος  
 ὕστερον φαινόμενον ἄωρόν ἐστι. παλαιότερον γὰρ  
 ἔτι τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔδει πράττειν, ὅτε πρῶτον αὐτοὺς  
 εἶδετε καταβαίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων καὶ μάχης  
 ἄρχειν βουλομένους. τότε γὰρ δήπου καλὸς ὁ περὶ  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἦν ἀγὼν καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων φρονή-  
 ματος ἄξιος· νῦν δ' ἀναγκαῖος ἤδη γίνεται, καὶ  
 οὐδ' ἂν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ τέλος, ὁμοίως καλός.  
 2 εὖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖτε ὅμως ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν  
 βραδυτῆτα βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ἀνα-  
 λαβεῖν, καὶ πολλὴ χάρις ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα  
 ὀρμῆς, εἴτ' <sup>1</sup> ὑπ' ἀρετῆς γίνεται (κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 ὁψὲ ἄρξασθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν ἢ μηδέποτε), εἴτ'  
 οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμοίους ἔχετε περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων  
 λογισμούς, καὶ ἡ προθυμία τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 3 ὀρμῆς ἅπαντας ἡ αὐτὴ κατεῖληφε. νῦν δὲ <sup>2</sup> φοβού-  
 μεθα μὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας προσκρούσματα  
 τῶν δημοτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει μεγάλης αἷτια  
 τῷ κοινῷ γένηται βλάβης· ὑποψία τε ἡμᾶς κατ-  
 εἶληφεν ὡς ἡ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καταβολὴ καὶ ἀγανά-  
 κτησις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως παρὰ  
 πάντων γίνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους προθυμείσθε τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ  
 4 δ' ὡς ἀποδρασόμενοι. ἐξ ὧν δὲ παρέστηκεν ἡμῖν  
 ταῦτα ὑποπτεύειν οὐ μαντεῖαί <sup>3</sup> εἰσὶν οὐδὲ στοχασμοί,  
 ἀλλ' ἔργα ἐμφανῆ καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα παλαιά, ἀλλ' ἐν  
 τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ γενόμενα, ὡς ἅπαντες ἴστε,  
 ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους τούτους πολλῆς καὶ  
 ἀγαθῆς ἐξελθούσης στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς πρώτης μάχης

<sup>1</sup> Reiske : εἴ γε O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg : δὴ ABC.



officers, and the eagerness which you one and all have to come to grips with your opponents, by showing itself much too late, is untimely. For you should have done this still earlier, when you first saw them come down from their entrenchments and eager to begin battle. Then, no doubt, the contest for the supremacy would have been glorious and worthy of the Roman spirit; as things are, it is already becoming a matter of necessity, and however successful its outcome may be, it will not be equally glorious. Yet even now you do well in desiring to atone for your slowness and to retrieve what you have lost by neglect, and great thanks are due to you for your eagerness to follow the best course, whether this springs from valour—for it is better to begin late to do one's duty than never—or whether indeed you have all come to the same logical conclusions as to what is expedient, and the same eagerness for rushing into battle has seized all of you. But as it is, we are afraid that the grievances of the plebeians against the authorities over the allotment of land may be the cause of grèat mischief to the commonwealth. And the suspicion has come to us that this clamour and indignation about a sortie do not spring from the same motive with all of you, but that while some desire to go out of the camp in order to take revenge on the enemy, others do so in order to run away. As for the reasons which have induced us to entertain these suspicions, they are neither divinations nor conjectures, but overt deeds, and deeds, too, that happened, not long ago, but only last year, as you all know. For when a large and excellent army had taken the field against this very

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<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : *μάρταις* O.



τὸ κράτιστον ἡμῖν λαβούσης τέλος, δυνηθέντος ἂν τοῦ τότε ἄγοντος ὑμᾶς ὑπάτου Καίσιωνος, ἀδελφοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ τουδί, καὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἐξελεῖν καὶ νίκην τῇ πατρίδι καταγαγεῖν λαμπροτάτην, φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ δόξης τινές, ὅτι δημοτικὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ τὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς πένησι διετέλει πολιτεύόμενος, τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς σκηναὺς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, οὔτε τὸν κίνδυνον ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν καταληψόμενον αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως καὶ χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπionτας ἐκ πολέμιας γῆς καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νυκτί, οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνῃν ὅση καθέξειν αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὑπολογισάμενοι, ὅτι παρεχώρουν τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς<sup>1</sup> μέρος, καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νικήσαντες τοῖς κεκρατημένοις.

5 τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀρρωδοῦντες, ὧ ταξίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ στρατιῶται, τοὺς οὔτ' ἄρχειν δυναμένους οὔτ' ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένους πολλοὺς καὶ αὐθάδεις ὄντας καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντας ἐν χερσίν, οὔτε πρότερον ἐβουλόμεθα μάχην συνάπτειν οὔτε νῦν ἔτι θαρσοῦμεν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις συμμάχοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, μὴ κωλύματα καὶ βλάβαι γένωνται τοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς

6 πρόθυμα παρεχομένοις. εἰ μέντοι κακείνων ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὸν νοῦν ἄγει νυνὶ καὶ<sup>2</sup> καταβαλόντες τὸ στασιάζον, ὑφ' οὗ<sup>3</sup> πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα βλάπτεται τὸ κοινόν, ἧ γε δὴ<sup>4</sup> εἰς τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναβαλόμενοι καιροὺς, ἐπανορθώσασθαι βούλονται τὰ παρελθόντα ὀνειδῇ τῇ νῦν ἀρετῇ, μηδὲν ἔτι τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτοῖς B : ἑαυτοὺς A.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Sintenis.

<sup>3</sup> νῦν after οὗ deleted by Reiske.

enemy and the first battle had had the most successful outcome for us, so that your commander at the time, the consul Caeso, my brother here, could not only have taken the enemy's camp, but also have brought back a most glorious victory for the fatherland, some of the soldiers, begrudging him the glory because he was not a friend of the people and did not constantly pursue such a course as was pleasing to the poor, struck their tents the first night after the battle and without orders ran away from the camp, neither taking thought for the danger they would incur in retreating from a hostile country in disorderly fashion and without a general, and that too in the night, nor taking into account all the disgrace that was sure to come upon them for yielding the supremacy to the enemy, as far at least as in them lay, and yielding it, moreover, as victors to the vanquished. Being afraid, therefore, tribunes, centurions, and soldiers, of these men who are neither able to command nor willing to obey, who are numerous and bold and have their weapons in their hands, we have been unwilling hitherto to join battle and dare not even now, with such men to support us, engage in a life-and-death struggle, lest they prove hindrances and detriments to those who are displaying all the alacrity in their power. If, however, Heaven is turning the minds of even these men to better ways at the present time, and if, laying aside their seditious spirit, from which the commonwealth is suffering very great harm, or at least postponing it till times of peace, they wish to redeem their past disgraces by their present valour, let there be no further hindrance to your advancing

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<sup>4</sup> ἡ γὰρ δὴ Sintenis : εἰ γὰρ δὴ B, om. R.

κωλύσον ἔστω χωρεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδας.

- 7 “Ἐχομεν δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ κυριωτάτας ἅς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνόητον ἡμῖν παρέχει, οἳ γε πλήθει στρατιᾶς μακρῷ προὔχοντες ἡμῶν, καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ δυνηθέντες ἂν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας τόλμας τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀντέχουν, ἀπεστερήκασιν τῆς μόνης ὠφελείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαναλώσαντες τὸ πλεῖον τῆς δυνά-
- 8 μεως μέρος εἰς τὰς τῶν φρουρίων φυλακάς. ἔπειτα δέον αὐτοὺς σὺν εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ σώφρονι πράττειν ἕκαστα, ἐνθυμουμένους πρὸς οἷους ἄνδρας καὶ πολὺ<sup>1</sup> ἀλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν ὁ κίνδυνος ἔσται, θρασέως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦσιν, ὡς ἄμαχοι δὴ τινες<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὡς ἡμῶν καταπεπληγότων αὐτούς. αἱ γοῦν ἀποταφρεύσεις καὶ αἱ μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἡμῶν καθιππεύσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίσματα τοῦτο
- 9 δύνανται. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀγώνων μεμνημένοι, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν οἷς αὐτοὺς ἐνικᾶτε, χωρεῖτε μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα· καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος χωρίῳ ταχθῇ, τοῦτο ὑπολαβέτω καὶ οἶκον εἶναι καὶ κλῆρον καὶ πατρίδα· καὶ ὃ τε σώζων τὸν παραστάτην ἑαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβέτω, καὶ ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν πέλας ἑαυτὸν ἡγείσθω τοῖς πολεμίοις προδιδόναι. μάλιστα δ’ ἐκείνο μεμνήσθαι προσῆκεν,<sup>3</sup> ὅτι μενόντων μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχομένων ὀλίγον τὸ ἀπολλύμενόν ἐστιν, ἐγκλινάντων δὲ καὶ φευγόντων κομιδῇ βραχὺ τὸ σωζόμενον.”

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολὺ B : om. C, καὶ R. Garrar and Jacoby reject καὶ πολὺ ἀλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν as a gloss.

against the foe, setting before your eyes the fair hopes of victory.

“ We have many resources for winning, but greatest and most decisive are those afforded us by the folly of the enemy. For though they far exceed us in the size of their army, and for that reason alone might have withstood our courage and experience, they have deprived themselves of their only advantage by using up the greater part of their forces in garrisoning the forts. In the next place, when they ought to act with caution and sober reason in everything they do, bearing in mind against what kind of men, actually far superior to them in valour,<sup>1</sup> the hazard will be, they enter the struggle recklessly and incautiously, as if forsooth they were some invincible warriors and as if we stood in terror of them. At any rate, their digging of ditches round our camp, their riding up to our entrenchments, and their many insults both in words and actions indicate this. Bearing these thoughts in mind, then, and remembering the many glorious battles of the past in which you have overcome them, enter with alacrity into this contest also. And let every one of you look upon the spot in which he shall be posted as his house, his lot of land, and his country. Let him who saves the man beside him feel that he is effecting his own safety, and let him who forsakes his comrade feel that he is delivering himself up to the enemy. But, above all, you should remember this, that when men stand their ground and fight their losses are small, but when they give way and flee very few are saved.”

<sup>1</sup> The clause “ actually far superior to them in valour ” looks suspiciously like a gloss ; see the critical note.

<sup>2</sup> δῆ τινες R : τινες B, Jacoby.    <sup>3</sup> προσήκεν A : προσήκει R.

X. "Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ πολλὰ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐκχέοντος δάκρυα, λοχαγῶν τε καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ᾧ συνήδει τι λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐν μάχαις ἀποδειξαμένῳ κατ' ὄνομα ἀνακαλοῦντος, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς ἀριστεύουσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην φιλάνθρωπα δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου πρὸς τὸ τῶν πράξεων μέγεθος, τιμὰς τε καὶ πλούτους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας βοηθείας, ἀναβοήσεις ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνοντο θαρρεῖν τε παρακελευομένων καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ  
 2 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀξιούντων. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο, προέρχεταιί τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, Μάρκος Φλαβολήιος ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς μὲν καὶ αὐτουργός, οὐ μὴν τῶν ἀπερριμμένων τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος, καὶ δι' ἄμφω ταῦτα ἐνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἀρχῇ κεκοσμημένος, ἣ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἑκατονταρχίας ἐπεσθαί τε καὶ τὸ κελεύόμενον ὑπηρετεῖν κελεύει ὁ<sup>1</sup> νόμος. τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῇ πατρίῳ  
 3 γλώττῃ πριμοπίλους καλοῦσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ (ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ἰδεῖν) στὰς ὄθεν ἅπασιν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι φανερός, "Ἐπεὶ τοῦτο,<sup>2</sup>" ἔφησεν, "ὦ ὕπατοι, δεδοίκατε, μὴ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν οὐχ ὅμοια γένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης πίστεως παρέξομαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ πολῖταί τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ τύχης, ὅσοι διεγνώκατε<sup>3</sup> εἰς ἴσον καταστήσαι τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοιτε τὸ αὐτὸ ποι-  
 4 οῦντες ἐμοί." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀνατείνας

<sup>1</sup> ὁ added by Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ τοῦτο Sintenis : ἐπὶ τοῦτο A, ἐπὶ τούτῳ B.

X. While he was yet uttering these encouragements to bravery and accompanying his words with many tears, calling by name each one of the centurions, tribunes, and common soldiers whom he knew to have performed some gallant action in battle, and promising to those who should distinguish themselves in this engagement many great rewards in proportion to the magnitude of their deeds, such as honours, riches, and all the other advantages, shouts arose from all of them as they bade him be of good cheer and demanded that he lead them to battle. As soon as he had done speaking, there came forward from the throng a man named Marcus Flavoleius,<sup>1</sup> a plebeian and small farmer, though not one of the rabble but one celebrated for his merits and valiant in war and on both these accounts honoured with the most conspicuous command in one of the legions—a command which the sixty centuries are enjoined by the law to follow and obey. These officers the Romans call in their own tongue *primipili*. This man, who, besides his other recommendations, was tall and fair to look upon, taking his stand where he would be in full view of all, said : “ Since this is what you fear, consuls, that our actions will not agree with our words, I will be the first to give you in my own name the assurance for the performance of my promise by the greatest pledge I can give. And you too, fellow citizens and sharers of the same fortune, as many of you as are resolved to make your actions match your words, will make no mistake in following my example.” Having said this, he held up his sword and

<sup>1</sup> For chap. 10, 2-4 cf. Livy ii. 45, 13 f.

<sup>3</sup> διεγνώκατε Ο : δὴ ἐγνώκατε Reiske.



ᾧμοσε τὸν ἐπιχώριόν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κράτιστον ὄρκον, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως δ' οὔ. τοῦτον ὁμόσαντος τοῦ Φλαβοληίου τὸν ὄρκον πολὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ τε ὕπατοι ἀμφοτέρω τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδρων καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἔχοντες στρατηγίας χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοί, 5 τελευτῶσα δ' ἡ πληθὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, πολλὴ μὲν εὐθυμία πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε, πολλὴ δὲ φιλότης ἀλλήλων, θάρσος τε αὖ καὶ μένος· καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ μὲν ἵπποις<sup>1</sup> χαλινοὺς ἐνέβαλλον,<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἔθηγον, οἱ δὲ τὰ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ὅπλων ἐξέματτον· καὶ δι' ὀλίγου<sup>3</sup> πᾶσα 6 ἦν ἑτοιμος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἢ στρατιά. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῆς ἐξόδου σφίσι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνας, ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ τὸν στρατόν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατιόντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἰδόντες ἐθαύμασάν τε καὶ ἀντεπεξήρσαν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει.

XI. Ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀμφοτέρω κατέστησαν καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἵππεῖς τε<sup>4</sup> ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πολὺς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο φόνος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρας, οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μάλλιος, ἐξέωσαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μέρος, καὶ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐμάχοντο πεζοί. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων

<sup>1</sup> ἵπποις B : ἵππεῖς AC.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνέβαλλον Bb : ἐνέβαλον R.



took the oath traditional among the Romans and regarded by them as the mightiest of all, swearing by his own good faith that he would return to Rome victorious over the enemy, or not at all. After Flavoleius had taken this oath there was great applause from all; and immediately both the consuls did the same, as did also the subordinate officers, both tribunes and centurions, and last of all the rank and file. When this had been done, great cheerfulness came upon them all and great affection for one another and also confidence and ardour. And going from the assembly, some bridled their horses, others sharpened their swords and spears, and still others cleaned their defensive arms; and in a short time the whole army was ready for the combat. The consuls, after invoking the gods by vows, sacrifices, and prayers to be their guides as they marched out, led the army out of the camp in regular order and formation. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them come down from their entrenchments, were surprised and marched out with their whole force to meet them.

XI. When both armies had come into the plain and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they raised their war-cries and ran to close quarters; and engaging, horse with horse and foot with foot, they fought there, and great was the slaughter on both sides. The troops on the right wing of the Romans, commanded by Manlius, one of the consuls, repulsed the part of the enemy that stood opposite to them, and quitting their horses, fought on foot. But those on the left wing were being surrounded by the enemy's

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<sup>3</sup> δι' ὀλίγου A : ὀλίγου B, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> τε B : om. R.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

<sup>2</sup> ἐκυκλοῦντο. ἦν γὰρ ἡ Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὑπερπετής τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγω μείζων τῆς ἐτέρας. παρερρήγνυτο δὴ ταύτη τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐλάμβανεν. ἡγείτο δὲ τούτου τοῦ κέρως Κόιντος Φάβιος, πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος ὢν, ὁ δις ὑπατεύσας· καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἀντείχε τραύματα λαμβάνων παντοδαπά, ἔπειτα λόγχῃ βληθεὶς εἰς τὰ στέρνα μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἐλθούσης τῆς αἰχμῆς ἔξαιμος  
<sup>3</sup> γενόμενος πίπτει. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, Μάρκος Φάβιος (ἦν δὲ κατὰ μέσην τὴν φάλαγγα τεταγμένος) τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν λόχων ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν Καίσιωνα Φάβιον ἀνακαλεσάμενος, παρήλαυνεν τὴν<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ προελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ παρήλλαξεν<sup>2</sup> τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κέρας, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κυκλουμένους. ἐμπεσὼν δ' αὐτοῖς φόνον τε τοῖς ἐν χερσὶ ποιεῖ πολὺν καὶ φυγὴν τῶν πρόσω, τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα κατα-  
<sup>4</sup> λαβὼν αἶρεται. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιβιὸς ἀποθνήσκει· τοῖς δὲ τιμωροῦσιν αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἔτι πλείων παρέστη καὶ μείζων<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον· καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς προνοούμενοι σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς μέσους ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς μάλιστα συνεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων, σωροὺς ἐξ-  
<sup>5</sup> ἐπλήρουν νεκρῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ before τὴν deleted by Gelenius.

<sup>2</sup> Portus : παρήλλαξαν O.

<sup>3</sup> πλείων παρέστη καὶ μείζων A : μείζων παρέστη B.

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<sup>1</sup> Dionysius employs ἀνθύπατος, the usual Greek word for "proconsul" or the adjective "proconsular," only in con-

right wing, since the Tyrrhenians' line at this point outflanked that of the Romans and was considerably deeper. Thus the Roman army was being broken in this sector and was receiving many blows. This wing was commanded by Quintus Fabius, who was a legate and proconsul<sup>1</sup> and had been twice consul. He maintained the fight for a long time, receiving wounds of all kinds till, being struck in the breast by a spear, the point of which pierced his bowels, he fell through loss of blood. When Marcus Fabius, the other consul, who commanded in the centre, was informed of this, he took with him the best of the centuries, and summoning Caeso Fabius, his other brother, he passed beyond his own line, and advancing a long way, till he had got beyond the enemy's right wing, he turned upon those who were encircling his men, and charging them, caused great slaughter among all whom he encountered, and also put to flight those who were at a distance; and finding his brother still breathing, he took him up. The man lived only a short time after that; but his death filled his avengers with still more and greater anger against the foe and, heedless now of their own lives, they rushed with a few followers into the densest ranks of the enemy and made large heaps of their dead bodies. In this part of their line, therefore, the

nexion with a person possessing the *imperium* (see chaps. 16, 3-4; 17, 5; 63, 2; cf. xi. 62, 1), but when, as in the present passage and one other (chap. 12, 5), he is speaking of a proconsul in a subordinate position, he uses the term *ἀντιστράτηγος*. The latter term was used by most writers for "praetor," and the phrase *πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος* was the Greek equivalent for *legatus pro praetore*; but at the period with which we are here concerned the praetorship had not been set off as yet from the consulship.

ἔκαμεν ἡ Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ, καὶ οἱ πρότερον ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατημένων ἀνεκόπησαν· οἱ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες κέρας, ἔνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν,<sup>1</sup> κάμνοντες ἤδη καὶ φυγῆς ἄρχοντες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτούς. παλτῶ γάρ τις βαλὼν τὸν Μάλλιον διὰ τοῦ γόνατος ἄχρι τῆς ἰγνύας διήρεισε τὴν λόγχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ πέριξ ἄραντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τεθνηκέναι δόξαντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ παραβοηθισάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις  
 6 οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνα. ἠναγκάσθησαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ Φάβιοι καταλιπόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας<sup>2</sup> τῷ δεξιῷ βοηθεῖν· καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσιόντας αὐτοὺς στίφει καρτερῶ μαθόντες τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλεόν διώξεως ἀποτρέπονται, πυκνώσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόχους ἐμάχοντο ἐν τάξει, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτειναν.

XII. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, οἱ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου καταλαβόμενοι Τυρρηνοὶ συνθήματος ἀρθέντος ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup> τοῦ στρατηγίου<sup>4</sup> σὺν τάχει πολλῶ καὶ προθυμίᾳ μεγάλη χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἡπείγοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων χάρακα, ὥς οὐκ ἀξιοχρέω δυνάμει φυλαττόμενον. καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἀληθής. ἔξω γὰρ τῶν τριαρίων καὶ ὀλίγων ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐμπόρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ· γίνεται τε πολλῶν εἰς ὀλίγον συνελαθέντων χωρίον (περὶ γὰρ ταῖς πύλαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν) ὁξεῖα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἔνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν placed here by Kiessling, after ἄρχοντες by O; deleted by Jacoby.

Tyrrhenians were hard pressed, and those who earlier had forced their enemies to give ground were now repulsed by those they had conquered ; but those on the left wing, where Manlius was,<sup>1</sup> though they were already in distress and beginning to flee, put their opponents to flight. For when Manlius had been struck in the knee with a javelin by an opponent who thrust the point through to the hamstrings, and those about him took him up and were carrying him back to the camp, the enemy, believing the Roman commander to be dead, took heart and, the rest coming to their assistance, pressed hard upon the Romans who now had no commander. This obliged the Fabii to quit their left wing once more and rush to the relief of the right ; and the Tyrrhenians, learning that they were approaching in a strong body, gave over further pursuit, and closing their ranks, fought in good order, losing a large number of their own men, but also killing many of the Romans.

XII. In the meantime the Tyrrhenians who had possessed themselves of the camp abandoned by Manlius, as soon as the signal for battle was given at headquarters, ran with great haste and alacrity to the other camp of the Romans, suspecting that it was not guarded by a sufficient force. And their belief was correct. For, apart from the *triarii* and a few younger troops, the rest of the crowd then in the camp consisted of merchants, servants and artificers ; and with many crowded into a small space—for the struggle was for the gates of the camp—a sharp and

<sup>1</sup> This awkward explanation may be an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> κέρας A : μέρος B.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ B : ὑπὸ R.

<sup>4</sup> Reiske : στρατηγοῦ O.

χαλεπή μάχη, καὶ νεκροὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλοί.  
 2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ὃ τε ὕπατος Μάλλιος<sup>1</sup> ἐκβοηθῶν  
 ἅμα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἵππος ἔπεσε, συγκατε-  
 ενεχθεὶς καὶ ἀδύνατος ὦν ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ πλήθους  
 τραυμάτων, ἀποθνήσκει καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἄλλοι νέοι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο εὐθύς  
 ὁ χάραξ ἠλίσκετο, καὶ τέλος εἶχε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς  
 3 τὰ μαντεύματα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐταμιεύσαντο τὴν  
 παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον<sup>2</sup> τὸν  
 χάρακα, τὰς τε ἀποσκευὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέσχον  
 αὐ<sup>3</sup> καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰσchrῶς ἀπελθεῖν ἠνάγκασαν<sup>4</sup>. νῦν  
 δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων τραπόμενοι  
 καὶ ἀναψύχοντες τὸ λοιπὸν<sup>5</sup> οἱ πλείους καλὴν ἄγραν  
 ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφηρέθησαν. ὥς γὰρ ἀπηγγέλθη  
 θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ τοῦ χάρακος ἄλωσις,  
 ἡπείγετο σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν.  
 4 καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα περι-  
 εστεφάνωσαν τὸν χάρακα, μάχη τ' αὐτῶν γίνεται  
 καρτερὰ τῶν μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλομένων τὰ  
 σφέτερα, τῶν δὲ μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρώσιν ἀλόντος  
 τοῦ χάρακος δεδοικότες. χρόνου δὲ γινομένου  
 πλείονος καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν πολλὰ πλεονεκτούντων  
 (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τε χωρίων<sup>6</sup> καὶ πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπους δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης κεκμηκότας ἡ μάχη<sup>7</sup>),  
 5 Τίτος Σίκκιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος,  
 κοινωσάμενος τῷ ὑπάτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τὸ  
 ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκέλευε σημαίνειν, καὶ καθ' ἐν ἅπαντας

<sup>1</sup> ὃ τε ὕπατος μάλλιος B : ὃ τε μάλλιος ὕπατος R. Kiessling and Jacoby rejected Μάλλιος.

<sup>2</sup> εἶχον O : ἔσχον Steph.<sup>2</sup>, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> αὐ added by Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : ἠνάγκαζον O.

<sup>5</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν B : om. R.

<sup>6</sup> τε χωρίων Reiske : τὸ χωρίον O.



severe engagement followed, and there were many dead on both sides. During this action the consul Manlius was coming out with the cavalry to the relief of his men, when his horse fell ; and he, falling with him and being unable to rise because of his many wounds, died there, and likewise many brave young men at his side. After this disaster the camp was soon taken, and the 'Tyrrhenians' prophecies had their fulfilment. Now if they had husbanded the good fortune that was then theirs and had kept the camp under guard, they would have got possession of the Romans' baggage and forced them to a shameful retreat ; but as it was, by turning to plundering what had been left behind and from then on refreshing themselves, as most of them did, they allowed a fine booty to escape out of their hands. For as soon as word of the taking of the camp reached the other consul, he hastened thither with the flower of both horse and foot. The Tyrrhenians, informed of his approach, formed a circle round the camp and a sharp battle occurred between them, as the Romans endeavoured to recover what was theirs and the enemy feared being annihilated if their camp should be taken. When considerable time passed and the Tyrrhenians had many advantages, since they fought from higher ground and against men spent with fighting the whole day, Titus Siccus, the legate and proconsul,<sup>1</sup> after communicating his plan to the consul, ordered that a retreat should be sounded and

<sup>1</sup> See note on chap. 11, 2.

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<sup>7</sup> ἡ μάχη Sylburg : τῇ μάχῃ O.



γενομένους μιᾷ προσβάλλειν πλευρᾷ τοῦ χάρακος, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον<sup>1</sup>. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας εἶασε μέρη κατὰ τινα εἰκότα λογισμόν, ὃς οὐκ ἐψεύσατο αὐτόν, ὅτι σωθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐλπίσαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ<sup>2</sup> μεθήσονται τοῦ χάρακος, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὲ τούτου γενόμενοι κυκλώσεώς τε πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης ἐξόδου ἀναγκαῖον ἔξουσι τὸ  
 6 εὖτολμον. γενομένης δὲ καθ' ἓν χωρίον τῆς προσβολῆς οὐκέτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐτράποντο, ἀλλ' ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀν-εσώζοντο χάρακα.

ΧΙΙ. Ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπεώσατο, παρεβοήθει πάλιν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. αὕτη μεγίστη λέγεται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις<sup>3</sup> μάχη, πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ τῷ ἀγχιστροφῷ τῆς τύχης. αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων ἡ κρατίστη τε καὶ ἐπίλεκτος ἀκμὴ δισμυρίων μάλιστα πεζῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν συντεταγμένων τοῖς τέτταρσι τάγμασιν ἱππέων ὁμοῦ τι χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, ἀποίκων δὲ<sup>4</sup> καὶ  
 2 συμμάχων ἑτέρα τοσαύτη. χρόνος δ' ἐμηκύνθη τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὀλίγω πρότερον τῆς μεσημβρίας ἀρξάμενος μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου. τὰ δὲ τῆς τύχης μέχρι πολλοῦ τῇδε καὶ τῇδε νίκαις τε καὶ ἥτταις<sup>5</sup> ταλαντευόμενα διέμεινεν· ὑπάτου δὲ θάνατος ἐγένετο καὶ πρεσβευτοῦ δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, ὅσων οὐδέπω πρότερον. τὸ μέντοι κράτος τοῦ ἀγῶνος

<sup>1</sup> Possibly an error for ἐπίμαχον.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ τυρρηνοὶ B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> ῥωμαίοις B : ῥωμαίων R.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ B : τε R.

that all the men should assemble in a single body and assault one side of the camp where it was most easy of attack. He left free from attack the parts next the gates, reasoning plausibly—and in this he was not deceived—that if the Tyrrhenians saw any hope of saving themselves, they would abandon the camp, whereas, if they despaired of this, finding themselves surrounded on all sides and no way of escape left, necessity would make them brave. And when the attack was directed against one point only, the Tyrrhenians no longer resisted, but opening the gates, made their way back in safety to their own camp.

XIII. The consul, after he had averted the danger, returned once more to the assistance of those who were in the plain. This battle is said to have been greater than any the Romans had previously fought as regards not only the numbers of the combatants, but also the time it lasted and its sudden turns of fortune. For of the Romans themselves from the city the flower and choice of their youth consisted of about 20,000 foot and some 1200 horse attached to the four legions, while from their colonies and allies there was another force equally large. As for the duration of the battle, it began a little before noon and lasted till sunset. Its fortunes continued for a long time shifting to and fro with alternating victories and defeats. A consul was slain, as well as a legate who had himself been twice consul, and many other commanders, tribunes and centurions—more indeed than in any previous battle. But the victory in

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<sup>5</sup> νίκαις τε καὶ ἡτταῖς Bb : νίκας τε καὶ ἡττας ABaC.

ἐδόκει περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους γεγονέναι κατ' ἄλλο  
 μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ καταλιπόντες  
 3 τὸν χάρακα οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀνέζευξαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς  
 ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τῆς ἐκλειφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν  
 Τυρρηνῶν παρεμβολῆς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τραπόμενοι καὶ  
 ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν ἀπῆλθον  
 εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν χάρακα. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιησά-  
 μενοι τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις λαμπρῶς τὰς ἀριστείας  
 ἀπέδοσαν τιμὰς, πρώτῳ μὲν Καίσωνι Φαβίῳ τῷ  
 τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀδελφῷ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα  
 ἀποδειξαμένῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Σικκίῳ, τῷ δια-  
 πραξαμένῳ<sup>1</sup> τὸν χάρακα ἀνασώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ  
 Μάρκῳ Φλαβοληίῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ τάγματος, τοῦ  
 θ' ὄρκου χάριν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ῥώμης.<sup>2</sup>  
 4 διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μέιναντες ἡμέρας  
 ὀλίγας ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀντεπεξῆει  
 τῶν πολεμίων μαχησόμενος, ἀπῆσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.  
 πάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ  
 ἀγῶνι κάλλιστον τέλος εἰληφότε, τὴν ἐπινίκιον τι-  
 μὴν τοῦ θριάμβου τῷ περιόντι ὑπάτῳ προσθεῖναι  
 βουλομένων, ἡρνήσατο τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν ὁ ὕπατος,  
 οὔτε ὅσιον εἶναι λέγων οὔτε θεμιτὸν ἐπ' ἀδελφοῦ  
 θανάτῳ καὶ συνάρχοντος ἀποβολῇ πομπεύειν καὶ  
 στεφανηφορεῖν· ἀποθεὶς δὲ τὰς σημείας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία τὴν ὑπατείαν  
 ἀπωμόσατο, δεῦν ἔτι μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαύσιον  
 χρόνον λειπομένων, ἀδύνατος ὢν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι

<sup>1</sup> διαπραξαμένῳ B : διαταξαμένῳ C, διαφρασαμένῳ ACmg.

<sup>2</sup> ῥώμης O : τόλμης Kiessling, ὁρμῆς Grasberger.

<sup>3</sup> σημείας O : σημαίας Sylburg, Jacoby. The form *σημεία* is given by the MSS. in several passages in the chapters that follow, but has been regularly emended by the editors.

the struggle seemed to rest with the Romans, for this one reason alone, that the Tyrrhenians left their camp the following night and withdrew. The next day the Romans turned to plundering the camp which had been abandoned by the Tyrrhenians, and having buried their dead, returned to their own camp. There, having called an assembly of the soldiers, they distributed the rewards of valour to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, as follows : first, to Caeso Fabius, the consul's brother, who had performed great and remarkable exploits ; next, to Siccus, who had brought about the recovery of their camp ; and third, to Marcus Flavoleius, the commander<sup>1</sup> of the legion, on account of both the oath he had taken and the prowess<sup>2</sup> he had shown in the midst of danger. After attending to these things they remained a few days in the camp ; then, when none of the enemy came out to fight against them, they returned home. Though all in the city wished to honour the surviving consul with the victor's reward of a triumph because of a most glorious outcome to a very great battle, the consul declined the favour they offered, saying that it was neither right nor lawful for him to ride in procession and wear a crown of laurel after the death of his brother and the loss of his colleague. But after putting away the standards and dismissing the soldiers to their homes he resigned the consulship when two months still remained to complete his year's term, since he was no longer capable of performing the duties of the office. For

<sup>1</sup> The *primipilus* ; see chap. 10, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The word here rendered "prowess" is perhaps corrupt ; we should expect a word like "intrepidity." See the critical note.

πράττειν. ἔταλαιπώρει γὰρ ὑπὸ τραύματος ἑξαισίου καὶ ἦν κλινοπετής.

XIV. Ἐλομένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μεσοβασιλεῖς τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἕνεκα, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μεσοβασιλέως συγκαλέσαντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοὺς λόχους,<sup>1</sup> ἀποδείκνυται Καίσων Φάβιος ὁ τὰ ἀριστεῖα λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένου, τὸ τρίτον ὕπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος. οὗτοι διαλαχόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήρσαν εἰς τὴν ὕπαιθρον, Φάβιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων προνομεύουσι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγρούς, 2 Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ στρατὸν ἐλευσόμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν πόλεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λεηλατουμένης τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἠνείχοντο, ὥστε πολλῶν κρατῆσαι χρημάτων τὸν ὕπατον καὶ σωμάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ἐφόδου. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐντὸς τείχους μένοντες, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἔδοξαν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπέθεντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσκεδασμένοις ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία καὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τετραμμένοις 3 τῆς λείας. ἔχοντες δὲ πολλὴν καὶ συντεταγμένην δύναμιν ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς αὐτούς, καὶ τήν τε λείαν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας οὓς μὲν ἀποκτείνουσιν, οὓς δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπουσι· καὶ εἰ μὴ Τίτος Σίκκιος πρεσβευτῆς τότε ὢν στίφει συντεταγμένῳ πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων παραβοηθήσας ἐπέσχεεν αὐτούς, οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύσον ἦν ἅπασαν ἀπολέσθαι τὴν στρατιάν. ἐκείνου δ' ἐμποδῶν

<sup>1</sup> λόχους Schwegler : ὄχλους O.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἄλλης λείας Reiske, ἄλλης λείας Sintenis : τῆς λείας O, πολλῆς λείας Cmg.

he was still suffering from a horrible wound and obliged to keep his bed.

XIV. The senate<sup>1</sup> chose *interreges* to preside at the election of magistrates, and the second *interrex* having assembled the centuries in the Field,<sup>2</sup> Caeso Fabius, the one who had been awarded the prize for valour in the battle, and brother to the man who had abdicated his magistracy, was chosen consul for the third time, and with him Titus Verginius. These, having drawn lots for the armies, took the field, Fabius to war against the Aequians, who were plundering the fields of the Latins, and Verginius against the Veientes. The Aequians, when they learned that an army was going to come against them, hastily evacuated the enemy's country and returned to their own cities; and after that they permitted their own territory to be ravaged, so that the consul possessed himself at the first blow of large amounts of money, many slaves, and much booty of other sorts. As for the Veientes, they at first remained within their walls; but as soon as they thought they had a favourable opportunity, they fell upon the enemy as they were dispersed over the plains and occupied in seizing booty. And attacking them with a large army in good order, they not only took away their booty, but also killed or put to flight all who engaged them. Indeed, if Titus Siccus, who was legate at the time, had not come to their relief with a body of foot and horse in good order and held the foe in check, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. But when he got in the enemy's way,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 48, 1-7.

<sup>2</sup> The Campus Martius.

γενομένου συνελθεῖν ἔφθασαν οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ καθ' ἓνα  
 διεσκεδασμένοι· πάντες δ' ἐν ταύτῳ γενόμενοι  
 λόφον τινὰ καταλαμβάνονται περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν,  
 4 καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐν τούτῳ ἔμειναν. ἐπαρ-  
 θέντες δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῷ κατορθώματι πλησίον τοῦ  
 λόφου τίθενται τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐκάλουν ὡς κατακεκλεικότες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς  
 χωρίον ἔνθα οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔμελλον ἔξειν,  
 καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν παραδοῦναι  
 σφίσι τὰ ὄπλα. γίνεται τε αὐτῶν συχνοῦ ἐλθόντος  
 ὄχλου δύο στρατεύματα περὶ τὰς ἐπιμάχους λαγό-  
 5 νας τοῦ λόφου, πολλά τ'<sup>1</sup> ἄλλα φρούρια βραχύτερα  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἥττον ἐπικαίρους τόπους· καὶ πάντα ἦν  
 μεστὰ ὄπλων.

5 Ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Φάβιος γραμμάτων  
 παρὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀφικομένων ἐπιγνούς ὡς<sup>2</sup> ἐν  
 ἐσχάτοις εἰσὶν οἱ κατακλεισθέντες ἐν τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ  
 κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς βοηθήσει, λιμῷ  
 ἀλῶναι, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Οὐιεντανοὺς σὺν τάχει· καὶ εἰ μιᾷ βραδύτερον  
 ἡμέρα διήνυσσε τὴν ὁδόν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὤνησεν, ἀλλὰ  
 διεφθαρμένην τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιὰν κατέλαβε. πιεζό-  
 6 μενοι γὰρ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ κατέχοντες  
 τὸν λόφον ἐξῆλθον ὡς τὸν εὐπρεπέστατον αἵρησό-  
 μενοι τῶν θανάτων, καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμί-  
 οῖς ἐμάχοντο κεκμηκότες οἱ πλείους τὰ σώματα  
 λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακώ-  
 6 σει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ὡς τὸ τοῦ Φαβίου στράτευμα  
 προσιὸν ὤφθη πολὺ τε καὶ συντεταγμένον, θάρσος  
 μὲν ἔφερε τοῖς σφετέροις, δέος δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις·

<sup>1</sup> τε Reiske : δὲ O.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς Post : ὡς ὅτι R, ὅτι B, Jacoby.



the rest of the troops, who had been scattered one here and one there, succeeded in getting together before it was too late; and being now all united, they occupied a hill late in the afternoon and remained there the following night. The Veientes, elated by their success, encamped near the hill and sent for their forces in the city, imagining that they had shut up the Romans in a place where they could not get any provisions, and that they would soon force them to deliver up their arms to them. And when a great multitude of their men had arrived, there were now two armies posted on the two sides of the hill that could be assailed, as well as many smaller detachments to guard the less vulnerable positions; and every place was full of armed men.

The other consul, Fabius, learning from a letter that came from his colleague that the troops shut up on the hill were in the direst straits and would be in danger of being reduced by famine unless someone came to their relief, broke camp and marched in haste against the Veientes. Indeed, if he had been one day later in completing his march, he would have been of no help, but would have found the army there destroyed. For the men holding the hill, distressed by the lack of provisions, had sallied out, ready to choose the most honourable death; and having engaged the enemy, they were then fighting, though the bodies of most of them were weakened by hunger, thirst, want of sleep, and every other hardship. But after a short time, when the army of Fabius, which was very large and drawn up in order of battle, was seen approaching, it brought confidence to their own men and fear to the enemy; and the Tyrrhenians,

καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ οὐκέτι ἀξιόμαχοι εἶναι νομίσαντες  
 πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ ἀκμῆτα δύναμιν εἰς ἀγῶνα  
 χωρεῖν, ὥχοντο ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς χάρακας. ὥς δ'  
 εἰς ταὐτὸ συνῆλθον αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις ἀμ-  
 φότεραι, στρατόπεδόν τε ποιοῦνται μέγα πλησίον  
 τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐχυρῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόθι  
 διατρίψαντες καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν  
 χώραν λεηλατήσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρα-  
 7 τιάν. ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφειμένας ἀπὸ τῶν σημειῶν, τὴν  
 εὖζωνον ἀναλαβόντες νεότητα, ἣν τε αὐτοὶ συν-  
 τεταγμένην εἶχον καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων  
 παροῦσαν, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὰ προσκείμενα τῇ  
 σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ πεδία, καὶ διαρπάζουσι καρπῶν τε  
 καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὄντα μεστά. κατ-  
 έβησαν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ γεωργοὶ χιλοῦ τε  
 τῶν βοσκημάτων ἔνεκα καὶ ἐργασίας τῶν ἀγρῶν  
 πιστεύοντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ προκαθημένη καὶ  
 οὐ φθάσαντες ἀπελθούσης ἀνασκευάσασθαι<sup>1</sup> πάλιν,  
 οὐκ ἂν<sup>2</sup> ἐλπίσαντες τοσαῦτα κεκακωμένους τοὺς  
 Οὐιεντανοὺς ταχεῖαν οὕτως ἀντεπιχείρησιν κατὰ  
 8 τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ποιήσασθαι.<sup>3</sup> αὕτη χρόνου μὲν  
 μήκει βραχεῖα ἐγένετο ἢ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐμβολή, πλήθει δὲ χώρας ἣν ἐπ-  
 ῆλθον ἐν τοῖς<sup>4</sup> πάνν μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἀχθηδόνα σὺν  
 αἰσχύνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἀήθη παρέσχεν ἄχρι Τεβέριός  
 τε ποταμοῦ καὶ ὄρους Ἰανίκλου στάδια τῆς Ῥώμης  
 οὐδ' εἴκοσιν ἀφεστῶτος ἀφικομένη. ἢ<sup>5</sup> κωλύσουσα

<sup>1</sup> ἀνασκευάσασθαι BCmg : ἀνασκευάσαντες AC.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντες B : οὐκ ἐλπίσαντες A, Jacoby, οὐδ' ἐλπίσαντες Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> ποιήσασθαι ABC : ποιήσεσθαι Steph., Jacoby.

believing themselves no longer to be strong enough to engage in battle with a valiant and fresh army, abandoned their camps and withdrew. When the two armies of the Romans had come together, they made a large camp in a strong position near the city; then, after remaining there many days and plundering the best part of the territory of the Veientes, the generals led the army home. When the Veientes heard that the forces of the Romans had been discharged from the standards, taking the light-armed youth, not only their own which they had already assembled, but also that of their neighbours which was then present, they made an incursion into the plains bordering upon their own territory, which were full of corn, cattle and men, and plundered them. For the husbandmen had come down from the strongholds to get feed for their cattle and to till their lands, relying upon the protection of their army, which then lay encamped between them and the enemy; and after this army had retired, they had made no haste to move back, as they did not expect the Veientes, after having suffered so many defeats, to make a return attack so promptly against the foe. This irruption of the Veientes into the Romans' country, though brief in point of the time it lasted, was very serious with respect to the amount of territory they overran; and it caused the Romans unusual vexation, mingled with shame, since it extended as far as the river Tiber and Mount Janiculum, which is not twenty stades from Rome.<sup>1</sup> For there was no force

<sup>1</sup> In chap. 24, 3 the distance is given as 16 stades (2 miles).

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling : ταῖς O.

<sup>5</sup> ἡ A : om. B, but three letters deleted before κωλύσουσα.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γὰρ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλεῖον χωρεῖν τὰ πολέμια οὐκ ἦν ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> σημείαις. ἔφθασε γοῦν τὸ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν στράτευμα πρὶν<sup>2</sup> συνελθεῖν τε καὶ λοχισθῆναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπελθόν.

XV. Συναχθείσης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς<sup>3</sup> βουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ σκέψεως γενομένης τίνα χρὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τρόπον, ἢ νικῶσα ἦν γνώμη στράτευμα συνεστηκὸς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις, ὃ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξει τὴν χώραν θυραυλοῦν καὶ αἰεὶ μένον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐλύπει δ' αὐτοὺς ἢ τε εἰς τοὺς φρουροὺς δαπάνη πολλή σφόδρα ἐσομένη, τοῦ τε κοινοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας ἐξαναλωμένου<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων ἀπειρηκότων ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀποσταλησομένων φρουρῶν καταγραφὴ τίνα τρόπον ἂν γένοιτο, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐκουσίῳ γέ τινων<sup>5</sup> προκαθημένων<sup>6</sup> ἀπάντων καὶ μὴ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ταλαι-  
 2 πωρεῖν ὑποστησομένων. ἀδημονούσης δ' αὐτῆς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις συγκαλέσαντες οἱ δύο<sup>7</sup> Φάβιοι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ σφετέρου γένους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο τῇ βουλῇ τοῦτο τὸ κινδύνευμα αὐτοὶ περὶ πάντων ἐκόντες ὑπομενεῖν, πελάτας τε τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ φίλους καὶ τέλεσι τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ὁ  
 3 πόλεμος διαμένη, στρατευόμενοι. ἀγασθέντων δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων τοῦ γενναίου τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον τιθεμένων, κλεινοὶ

<sup>1</sup> Portus : ἐπὶ O.

<sup>2</sup> πρὶν O : πρὶν ἢ Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς added by Sylburg.

<sup>4</sup> ἐξαναλωμένου Ba : ἐξαναλουμένου R.

<sup>5</sup> After τινων Kayser proposed to add ὀλίγων.

<sup>6</sup> Kiessling : προκειμένων A, Jacoby, προκείμενον B, προκινδυνεύειν Küstlin.

<sup>7</sup> δύο B : om. R.

then under the standards to stop the enemy's further progress ; at any rate, the army of the Veientes had gone before the Romans could assemble and be assigned to centuries.

XV. When the senate <sup>1</sup> was later called together by the consuls and had deliberated in what manner the war should be carried on against the Veientes, the opinion which prevailed was to maintain a standing army upon the frontiers, which should keep guard over the Roman territory, camping in the open and always remaining under arms. But the expense of maintaining the garrisons, which would be very great, grieved them, since the public treasury was exhausted as a result of the continual campaigns, and their private fortunes had proved unequal to the burden of the war-taxes. And they were grieved still more by the problem of enlisting the garrisons which were to be sent out, how that could be accomplished, there being little probability that a few men would, willingly at least, serve as a bulwark in defence of all and submit to hardships, not in successive shifts, but continuously. While the senate was troubled on both these accounts, the two Fabii assembled all the members of their clan, and having consulted with them, promised the senate that they themselves would voluntarily undertake this risk in defence of all the citizens, taking along with them their clients and friends, and would at their own expense continue in arms as long as the war should last. All admired them for their noble devotion and placed their hopes of victory in this single undertaking ; and while they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 48, 8—49, 8.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ περιβόητοι καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὄντες ἐξήεσαν ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις. ἡγείτο δ' αὐτῶν Μάρκος Φάβιος ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει καὶ νικήσας<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς τῇ μάχῃ, τετρακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἐπαγόμενος, ὧν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πελατῶν τε καὶ ἐταίρων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες. εἶπετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις, ἧς ἡγείτο Καίσων Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

- 4 Γενόμενοι δὲ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρας<sup>2</sup> πλησίον, ὃς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχει τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ὄχθου τινὸς ἀποτόμου καὶ περιρρῶγος ἐπετείχιζον αὐτοῖς φρούριον ἱκανὸν φυλάττεσθαι τοσαύτῃ στρατιᾷ τάφρους τε ὀρυζάμενοι περὶ αὐτὸ διπλᾶς καὶ πύργους ἐγείραντες πυκνοὺς· καὶ ὠνομάσθη τὸ φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρα. οἷα δὲ πολυχειρίας τε ἐργαζομένης καὶ ὑπάτου συλλαμβανοντος θᾶπτον ἢ κατὰ δόξαν ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἔργον.
- 5 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν παρήλασεν ἐπὶ θάτερα<sup>3</sup> μέρη τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἐστραμμένα Τυρρηνίαν, ἔνθα ἦν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, οὐδέποτε στρατὸν ἤξειν Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖ προσδεχομένοις. περιβαλόμενος δὲ πολλὴν λείαν ἀπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ νεόκτιστον φρούριον, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ κατ' ἀμφότερα, τῆς τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πολεμίων τιμωρίας ἕνεκα, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν ἔμελλε παρέξειν εὐπορίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτ' εἰς τὸ δημόσιον

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg : ἐνίκησε Ο.

<sup>2</sup> Portus : κρεμέρα Ο.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ after θάτερα deleted by Reiske.



were being acclaimed and their names were on the lips of all, they took their arms and marched forth, accompanied by vows and sacrifices. Their leader was Marcus Fabius, the man who had been consul the preceding year and had conquered the Tyrrhenians in the late battle; those he took with him were about four thousand in number, the greater part of them being clients and friends, while of the Fabian clan there were three hundred and six men. They were followed a little later by the Roman army under the command of Caeso Fabius, one of the consuls.

When they came near the river Cremera, which is not far from the city of the Veientes, they built upon a steep and craggy hill a fortress to command their territory, as large as could be garrisoned by an army of such size, surrounding it with a double ditch and erecting frequent towers; and the fortress was named Cremera, after the river. Since many hands were employed at this work and the consul himself assisted them, it was completed sooner than might have been expected. After that the consul marched out with the army and went past the city to the other side of the territory of the Veientes, the side facing toward the rest of Tyrrhenia, where the Veientes kept their herds, not expecting that a Roman army would ever come there; and having possessed himself of much booty, he returned to the newly erected fortress. This quarry afforded him great satisfaction for two reasons—first, because he had so promptly retaliated upon the enemy, and again, because it would furnish abundant supplies to the garrison of the stronghold. For he neither turned over any part of



ἀνήνεγκεν,<sup>1</sup> οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις<sup>2</sup> ἀπένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ζεύγη βοεικὰ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα εἰς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια  
 ὅ ἦν τοῖς περιπόλοις τῆς χώρας ἐχαρίσατο. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς μετὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ χωρίου κακῶς πάνυ τὰ πράγματ' εἶχεν, οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἔτι δυναμένοις ἀσφαλῶς γεωργεῖν οὔτε τὰς  
 7 ἔξωθεν εἰσαγομένας ἀγορὰς δέχεσθαι.<sup>3</sup> νείμαντες γὰρ εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τὴν στρατιὰν οἱ Φάβιοι, τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ διεφύλαττον τὸ χωρίον, τοῖς δὲ τρισὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων ἄγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες αἰεὶ διετέλουν· καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένων<sup>4</sup> χειρὶ οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ εἰς χωρία ἐνέδραις κατεχόμενα ὑπαγομένων, περιῆσαν ἀμφοτέρως καὶ πολλοὺς νεκροὺς ποιήσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπῆεσαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον· ὥστε οὐδ' ὁμόσε χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔτι οἱ πολέμιοι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τειχήρεις μένοντες τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κλέπτοντες τὰς ἐξόδους διετέλουν· καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτα.<sup>5</sup>

XVI. Τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου τε Αἰμιλίου καὶ Γαῖου Σερουιλίου<sup>6</sup> τὴν ὑπατείαν παρειληφόντων ἀπηγγέλη Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ Αἰκανοὶ<sup>7</sup> συνθήκας πεποιήνται στρατιᾶς κατ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐξάγειν καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλοῦσι· καὶ ἦν ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα. θᾶπτον γοῦν ἢ προσ-

<sup>1</sup> Tegge : ἀπῆνεγκεν O.

<sup>2</sup> στρατιώταις Kiessling, στρατενομένοις Kayser : στρατενο-  
 μένοις ἰδιώταις O.

<sup>3</sup> δέχεσθαι BbCmg : om. R.

<sup>4</sup> Cary : ἐπιθεμένων O, Jacoby.

the spoils to the treasury nor distributed any to the soldiers, but presented all the cattle, the beasts of burden, the yokes of oxen, the iron, and the other implements of husbandry to the patrols of the country. After accomplishing this he led the army home. The Veientes found themselves in very dire straits after the erection of the frontier stronghold, since they could no longer either till their land in safety or receive the provisions that were imported from abroad. For the Fabii had divided their army into four bodies, with one of which they guarded the stronghold, while with the other three they continually pillaged the enemy's country; and often, when the Veientes openly attacked them with a considerable force or endeavoured to entice them into places beset with ambuscades, the Fabii had the advantage in both situations, and after killing many of them, would retire safely to their stronghold. Consequently the enemy no longer dared to engage them, but remained shut up within their walls for the most part, and only ventured out by stealth. Thus ended that winter.

XVI. The next year,<sup>1</sup> when Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius had assumed the consulship, the Romans were informed that the Volscians and the Aequians had entered into an agreement to lead out armies against them at the same time, and that they would soon make an irruption into their territory. And this information was true. At all events, sooner

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 16-17, 3 *cf.* Livy ii. 49, 9-12.

<sup>5</sup> ἐτελεύτα O : οὕτως ἐτελεύτα Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> Σερονιλίου Sigonius : σεργίου O (and similarly below).

<sup>7</sup> αἰκανοὶ Bb : λευκανοὶ ABa.

εδόκα τις ἀμφότεροι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἐδῆουν τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι χώραν, ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐσομένων Ῥωμαίων τῷ τε Τυρρηνικῷ πολέμῳ  
 2 ἀντέχειν καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντας δέχεσθαι. καὶ ἕτεροι αὖθις ἦκοντες ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Τυρρηνίαν ἀπήγγελλον ὅλην καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι Οὐιεντανοῖς κοινὴν ἀποστέλλειν συμμαχίαν. κατέφυγον γὰρ ὥς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐξελεῖν δι' ἑαυτῶν τὸ φρούριον Οὐιεντανοί, συγγενείας τε ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ φιλίας καὶ ὅσους μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσαν πολέμους διεξιόντες· ἀντὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων ἀξιοῦντες συνάρασθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου, ὥς σφῶν τε προκαθημένων Τυρρηνίας ὅλης καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνακωχεύοντων τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ρέοντα κατὰ πάντων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπέσχοντο πέμψειν αὐτοῖς ὅσῃν ἡξίουں συμμαχίαν.

3 Ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο τρισσὰς ἐκπέμψαι<sup>1</sup> στρατιάς, καὶ γενομένων ἐν τάχει τῶν καταλόγων Λεύκιος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐπέμφθη· συνήρατο δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξόδου Καίσων Φάβιος, ὁ νεωστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος, δεηθεὶς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐν Κρεμέρα συγγενέσιν, οὓς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρουρήσοντας τὸ χωρίον ἐξήγαγε, συνεῖναι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγῶνων μετέχειν· καὶ ἐξῆλθε σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν  
 4 ἐξουσίᾳ κοσμηθεὶς ἀνθυπάτῳ. Γάιος δὲ Σερουῖλιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐστράτευσε, Σερούιος δὲ Φούριος ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνος. ἐκάστῳ δ' αὐτῶν δύο μὲν τάγματα Ῥωμαίων εἶπετο, Λατίνων δὲ καὶ Ἑρνίκων καὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Cobet : ἐκπέμψειν O, Jacoby.

than anyone was expecting, both nations with their armies were ravaging the parts of the Roman territory that adjoined their own, in the belief that the Romans would not be able to cope with the Tyrrhenian war and at the same time to withstand their own attack. And again other messengers came reporting that all Tyrrhenia had become hostile to them and was prepared to send joint reinforcements to the Veientes. For the latter, finding themselves unable to destroy the fortress by themselves alone, had turned to them for help, reminding them of their kinship and friendship, and enumerating the many wars they had waged in common. In view of all this, they asked them to assist them in their war against the Romans, since they were now serving as a bulwark for all Tyrrhenia and stemming the torrent of war which was rushing from Rome upon all the peoples of their race. The Tyrrhenians were persuaded, and promised to send them as large a force of auxiliaries as they asked for.

The senate, being informed of this, resolved to send three armies into the field ; and the levies were speedily raised. Lucius Aemilius was sent against the Tyrrhenians ; and taking part in the expedition with him was Caeso Fabius, the man who had recently resigned the consulship, having now asked leave of the senate to join his kinsmen on the Cremera whom his brother had led out to garrison that place, and to take part in the same contests as they ; and invested with the proconsular power, he set out with his followers. Gaius Servilius, the other consul, marched against the Volscians, and Servius Furius, the proconsul, against the Aequians. Each of them was at the head of two legions of Romans and an equally

ἄλλων συμμάχων οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουίῳ κατὰ νοῦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐχώρησε καὶ σὺν τάχει. μιᾷ γὰρ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς μάχῃ καὶ ταύτῃ δίχα πόνου, τῇ πρώτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκπλήξας ἐφόδῳ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδήλου τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καταπεφευγόντων εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα. Σερουιλίῳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ αὐθαδείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωρήσαντι πολὺ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντησε, καρτερῶς πάνυ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντιταξαμένων, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολέσας μηκέτι χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑπομένων ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαῖς διαφέρειν<sup>1</sup> τὸν πόλεμον.

6 Λεύκιος δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς, εὐρὼν ἐξεστρατευμένους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολὺ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐπικουρικόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μελλήσας ἔργου εἶχετο· ἡμέραν δὲ μίαν<sup>2</sup> ἀφ' ἧς τὸν χάρακα ἔθετο διαλιπὼν ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς μάχην, θρασέως πάνυ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ὁμόσε χωρούντων. ἰσορρόπου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γινομένου τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐνσεῖει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, καί, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διεσάλευσεν, ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐχώρει, ὅπου μὲν ἱππάσιμον εἶη χωρίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μαχόμενος, ὅπου δ' ἄνιππον ἀποκαταβαίνων τε καὶ πεζὸς ἀγωνιζόμενος. πονούντων δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων οὐδ' οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' ἐξεώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντες  
7 ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ἠκολούθει

<sup>1</sup> ἔγνω after διαφέρειν deleted by Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> μίαν added here by Capps, after ἔθετο by Kiessling.

strong force of Latins, Hernicans and the other allies. In the case of the proconsul Servius the war went according to his wish and was soon over. For in a single battle he routed the Aequians, and that without any trouble, having terrified the enemy at the first onset; and thereafter he laid waste their country, as the people had taken refuge in their forts. But Servilius, one of the consuls, having rushed into battle in a precipitate and headstrong fashion, found himself greatly disappointed in his expectations, as the Volscians offered a very stout resistance, with the result that after losing many brave men he was forced to give up engaging in pitched battles with them any longer, but remaining in his camp, to carry through the war by means of skirmishes and engagements of the light-armed troops.

Lucius Aemilius, who had been sent against the Tyrrhenians, finding that the Veientes had taken the field before their city together with a large number of auxiliaries of the same race, set to work without further delay; and letting only a single day pass after making camp, he led out his forces to battle, in which the Veientes joined with great confidence. When the contest continued doubtful, he took the horse and charged the right wing of the enemy; then, after throwing that into confusion, he proceeded to the other wing, fighting on horseback where the ground would permit, and where it would not, dismounting and fighting on foot. When both of the enemy's wings were in distress, those in the centre could no longer hold out either, but were thrust back by the Roman foot; and after that they all fled to their camp. Aemilius followed them in their flight



τοῖς φεύγουσι συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρε. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐκείνην τε παρέμεινε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κόπῳ τε καὶ τραύμασι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ἀπειρηκότων ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τοῦ χάρακος. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοί, ὥς εἶδον ἐπιβαίνοντας ἤδη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοῖς περισταυρώμασιν, ἐκλιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν 8 πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἔμεινε ὁ ὕπατος, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις<sup>1</sup> δωρεαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἐγκαταλειφθέντα<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑποζύγια τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ σκηνὰς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν πολλῇ εὐπορίᾳ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ὥς ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας πώποτε μάχης. ἀβροδίαιτον γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολυτελὲς τὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνος ἦν, οἴκοι τε καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου περιηγόμενον<sup>3</sup> ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλούτου τε καὶ τέχνης ἔργα παντοῖα πρὸς ἡδονὰς μεμηχανημένα καὶ τρυφάς.

XVII. Ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἱκετηρίας φέροντας ἀπέστειλαν ὥς τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλεξομένους. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὀλοφυρόμενοί τε καὶ ἀντιβολουῦντες καὶ τὰλλ' ὅσα ἐπαγωγὰ ἦν εἰς ἔλεον μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων διεξιόντες πείθουσι τὸν ὕπατον ἐπιτρέψαι

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις Reiske : ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐκπρεπεστάταις O, ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις Jacoby.



with his army in good order and killed many of them. When he came near their camp, he attacked it with relays of fresh troops, remaining there all that day and the following night ; and the next day, when the enemy were spent with weariness, wounds and want of sleep, he made himself master of the camp. The Tyrrhenians, when they saw the Romans already mounting the palisades, left their camp and fled, some to the city and some to the neighbouring hills. That day the consul remained in the enemy's camp ; and on the next day he rewarded with the most magnificent presents those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and gave to the soldiers all the beasts of burden and slaves that had been left behind in the camp, together with the tents, which were full of many valuables. And the Roman army found itself in greater opulence than after any former battle. For the Tyrrhenians were a people of dainty and expensive tastes, both at home and in the field carrying about with them, besides the necessities, costly and artistic articles of all kinds designed for pleasure and luxury.

XVII. In the course of the following days the Veientes, yielding at last to their misfortunes, sent their oldest citizens to the consul with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. These men, resorting to lamentations and entreaties and with many tears rehearsing every argument calculated to rouse compassion, endeavoured to persuade the consul to let

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<sup>2</sup> ἐγκαταλειφθέντα Ο : ἐγκαταληφθέντα Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Gelenius : ὑπεραγόμενον Ο, ὑπεραγάμενον Reiske.

σφίσι πρεσβευτὰς<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστεῖλαι<sup>2</sup> τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν διαλεξομένους, ἕως δ' ἂν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφίκωνται φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, μηδὲν αὐτῶν κακουργεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἵνα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται ταῦτα πράττειν, σίτον τε ὠμολόγησαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ διμήνου παρέξειν καὶ χρήματα εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἕξ 2 μηνῶν, ὡς ὁ κρατῶν ἔταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὕπατος λαβὼν τὰ κομισθέντα καὶ διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ποιεῖται τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνοχάς. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀκούσασα καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου γράμματα δεξαμένη<sup>3</sup> πολλὴν ποιουμένου παράκλησιν καὶ παραινούντος ὡς τάχιστα καταθέσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον, δόγμα ἐξήνεγκε διδόναι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς ἡτοῦντο οἱ πολέμιοι· ἐφ' οἷς δὲ δικαίοις αὕτη γενήσεται,<sup>4</sup> τὸν ὕπατον καταστήσασθαι Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ κράτιστα ἔξειν. 3 ταύτας λαβὼν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὁ ὕπατος σπένδεται πρὸς τοὺς Οὐιεντανούς, ἐπιεικεστέραν μᾶλλον ἢ συμφορωτέραν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι ποιησάμενος εἰρήνην, οὔτε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος οὔτε χρημάτων ἄλλων ἐπιθεὶς ζημίαν, οὔτε ὁμήρων δόσει τὸ 4 πιστὸν ἐν<sup>5</sup> τοῖς συγκεϊμένοις βεβαιωσάμενος. τοῦτ' αὐτῷ μέγαν ἥνεγκε φθόνον, καὶ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις χάριτας αἷτιον ἐγένετο. ἐνέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτουμένῳ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αἰτιώμενοι τῶν συνθηκῶν, ὅτι οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης αὐτὰς ἔπραξεν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν λάβῃ

<sup>1</sup> πρεσβευτὰς Reiske : τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς AB, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποστεῖλαι placed here by Sylburg, Jacoby, after πολέμου by O.

them send ambassadors to Rome to treat with the senate for a termination of the war, and until the ambassadors should return with the senate's answer, to do no injury to their country. In order to obtain these concessions, they promised to supply the Roman army with corn for two months and with money for their pay for six months, as the victor commanded. And the consul, after receiving what they brought and distributing it among his men, made the truce with them. The senate, having heard the ambassadors and received the letter of the consul, in which he earnestly recommended and urged putting an end to the war with the Tyrrhenians as soon as possible, passed a decree to grant peace as the enemy desired ; as to the terms on which the peace should be made, they left them for the consul Lucius Aemilius to determine in such manner as he should think best. The consul, having received this answer, concluded a peace with the Veientes that was more equitable than advantageous to the conquerors ; for he neither took from them any part of their territory, nor imposed on them any further fine of money, nor compelled them to give hostages as security for the performance of their agreement. This action brought upon him great odium and was the reason for his not receiving from the senate the rewards due for his success ; for when he requested the customary triumph, they opposed it, censuring his arbitrary behaviour in the matter of the treaty, in that he had concluded it without their concurrence. But lest he should take this action as an insult and evidence of their anger,

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<sup>3</sup> δεξαμένη O : ἀναλεξαμένη Cobet, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> Baumann : γένηται O.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν O : om. Reiske.

τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο  
 τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάγειν ἐπικουρίας τοῦ συνάρχοντος  
 ἔνεκα, εἰ δύναιτο κατορθώσας τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον  
 (ἦν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον) ἀφανίσαι τὰς  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀμαρτήμασιν ὀργάς. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ  
 ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο τῆς  
 βουλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορίαν, ὥς<sup>1</sup> ἀχθομένης ἐπὶ  
 τῷ λελύσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον.  
 ἔφη δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ὑπερ-  
 οψίας τῶν πενήτων ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων  
 ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων ἀπαιτῶσι τὰς περὶ τῆς  
 κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις, πολλοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη  
 5 φενακίζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ  
 τούτοις ὅμοια δι'<sup>2</sup> ὀργῆς ἀκράτου τῶν πατρικίων  
 ὀνειδῆ κατασκεδάσας, τὴν τε συστρατευσαμένην  
 αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀπέλυσε τῶν σημείων καὶ τὴν μετὰ  
 Φουρίου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου διατρίβουσαν ἐν Αἰκανοῖς  
 μεταπεμψάμενος ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα· ἐξ ὧν  
 πολλὴν πάλιν ἐποίησεν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς δημάρχους  
 κατηγορεῖν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ  
 διστάναι τοὺς πένητας ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων.

XVIII. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν  
 ὑπατείαν Γάιος Ὀράτιος καὶ Τίτος Μενήνιος ἐπὶ  
 τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκτῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα  
 στάδιον Σκάμανδρος Μιτυληναῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθή-  
 νησι Φαίδωνος. τούτοις κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὁ πολιτι-  
 κὸς θόρυβος ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο πρᾶττειν τὰ κοινά,  
 ἡρεθισμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ οὐδὲν ἐὼντος ἕτερον

<sup>1</sup> ὥς B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> δι' Kiessling : καὶ δι' O. Retaining καὶ, Reiske sup-  
 plied συνείρας, Jacoby εἰπὼν, after ὅμοια.

they ordered him to march with his army against the Volscians in order to bear aid to his colleague, on the chance that if he succeeded in the war there—for he was a man of great bravery—he might blot out the resentment for his former errors. But Aemilius, angry at this slight upon his honour, inveighed violently against the senate in the popular assembly, accusing them of being displeased that the war against the Tyrrhenians was ended. He declared that they were doing this with treacherous intent and through contempt of the poor, lest these, when freed from foreign wars, should demand the performance of the promises concerning the allotment of land with which they had been cajoled by them for so many years already. After he had in his ungovernable resentment poured forth these and many similar reproaches against the patricians, he not only dismissed from the standards the army that had served under him, but also sent for the forces that were tarrying in the country of the Aequians under Furius the proconsul and dismissed them to their homes. Thereby he once more gave the tribunes a considerable warrant for accusing the senators in the meetings of the assembly and sowing dissension between the poor and the rich.

XVIII. These consuls were succeeded by Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius<sup>1</sup> in the seventy-sixth Olympiad<sup>2</sup> (the one at which Scamander of Mitylene won the foot-race), when Phaedo was archon at Athens. The new consuls were at first hindered from transacting the public business by the domestic disturbance, the populace being exasperated and not permitting any other public business to be carried on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 51, 1.

<sup>2</sup> 475 B.C.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐπιτελείσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἕως ἂν μερίσῃται τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἶξε τὰ παρακινου-  
 τα καὶ ταραττόμενα τῇ ἀνάγκῃ συγχωρήσαντα  
 2 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας ἐκούσια ἦλθε. Τυρρηνῶν  
 γὰρ αἱ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνδεκα πόλεις  
 ἀγορὰν ποιησάμεναι κοινὴν κατηγόρουν τοῦ Οὐιεν-  
 τανῶν ἔθνους ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον οὐ  
 μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης κατελύσαντο, καὶ δυεῖν θάτερον  
 αὐτοὺς ἡξίουں πράττειν, ἢ λύειν τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 3 ὁμολογηθέντα ἢ πολεμεῖν σφίσι μετ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δὲ  
 Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης τὴν ἀνάγκην ἡτιῶντο,  
 ὅπως δ' ἂν αὐτὴν καταλύσαιντο εὐπρεπῶς εἰς  
 κοινὸν ἐτίθεσαν σκοπεῖν. ἔπειτα ὑποτίθεταιί τις  
 αὐτοῖς ἔγκλημα ποιησαμένοις τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τῆς  
 Κρεμέρας καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι τοὺς φρουροὺς  
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς, λόγῳ μὲν πρῶτον<sup>1</sup> ἀξιοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκλιπεῖν  
 τὸ χωρίον, εἰὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωσι, πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρού-  
 ριον, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου.  
 4 ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἀπηλλάττοντο ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου·  
 καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Οὐιεντανοὶ μὲν ἀποστείλαντες  
 πρεσβείαν ὡς τοὺς Φαβίους ἀπήτουν παρ' αὐτῶν  
 τὸ φρούριον, Τυρρηνία δὲ πᾶσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.  
 ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Φαβίων αὐτοῖς ἐπι-  
 στειλάντων<sup>2</sup> ἔγνωσαν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκπορεύεσθαι  
 τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, τόν τε ἀπὸ Τυρ-  
 ρηνίας ἐπαγόμενον σφίσι καὶ τὸν ἔτι πρὸς Οὐο-  
 5 λούσκους συνεστῶτα. Ὁράτιος μὲν οὖν ἄγων δύο  
 τάγματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς  
 ἱκανοὺς ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους,

<sup>1</sup> πρῶτον B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιστειλάντων C, by correction, Reiske : ἀποστειλάντων ABC.

until they should divide up among themselves the public land ; but after a time the seditious and turbulent elements yielded to necessity and came in voluntarily to be enlisted. For the eleven cities of the Tyrrhenians which had had no part in the peace, holding a general assembly, inveighed against the Veientes for having put an end to the war with the Romans without the general consent of the nation, and demanded that they do one of two things—either break the compact they had made with the Romans, or join with the Romans in making war upon the rest of the Tyrrhenians. But the Veientes laid the blame for the peace upon necessity, and proposed that the assembly consider how they might break it with decency. Upon this someone suggested to them that they should make formal complaint of the erection of the frontier stronghold on the Cremera and of the failure of its garrison to withdraw from there, and then should first make an oral demand that they evacuate the place, and, if they refused, should lay siege to the fortress and make this action the beginning of the war. Having agreed on this course, they left the assembly ; and not long afterwards the Veientes sent ambassadors to the Fabii to demand from them the fortress, and all Tyrrhenia was in arms. The Romans, learning of these things through letters from the Fabii, resolved that both the consuls should take the field, one to command in the war that was coming upon them from Tyrrhenia and the other to prosecute the war which was still going on with the Volscians. Horatius, accordingly, marched against the Volscians with two legions and an adequate force of the allies, and Menenius was



Μενήνιος δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν ἑτέραν ἄγων ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. παρασκευαζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τρίβοντος τὸν χρόνον ἔφθη τὸ ἐν Κρεμέρα φρούριον ἐξαιρεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸ Φαβίων γένος ἅπαν ἀπολόμενον. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς ἄνδρας συμφορᾶς διττὸς φέρεται λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἦττον πιθανός, ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπτόμενος. θήσω δ' αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους, ὥς παρέλαβον.

XIX. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασιν ὅτι θυσίας ἐπιστάσης πατρίου, ἣν ἔδει τὸ Φαβίων ἐπιτελέσαι γένος, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον ὀλίγους ἐπαγόμενοι πελάτας ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ προήεσαν οὔτε διερευνώμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς οὔτε ὑπὸ σημείαις τεταγμένοι κατὰ λόχους, ῥαθύμως δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ὥς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ διὰ  
2 φιλίας γῆς πορευόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ προεγνωκότες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ἐλόχησαν τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν συντεταγμένην ἔχοντες οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἠκολούθουν. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασαν οἱ Φάβιοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις, ἐξαναστάντες τοῦ λόχου οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὴν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν δύναμις προσέβαλεν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν· καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόναις, οἱ δὲ τόξοις, οἱ δὲ σαννίοις τε καὶ λόγχαις στοχαζόμενοι, τῷ  
3 πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἅπαντας κατειργάσαντο. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἦττον ἔμοιγε πιθανὸς φαίνεται εἶναι λόγος. οὔτε γὰρ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου θυσίας ἕνεκα τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς σημείαις τοσοῦτους ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφειν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος βουλῆς, δυναμένων

<sup>1</sup> δὲ B : τε AC.

preparing to set out against the Tyrrhenians with another force of equal size ; but while he was making his preparations and losing time, the fortress on the Cremera was destroyed by the enemy and the entire Fabian clan perished. Concerning the disaster that befell these men two accounts are current, one less probable and the other coming nearer to the truth. I shall give them both as I have received them.

XIX. Some say that when the time was at hand for a traditional sacrifice which devolved upon the Fabian clan, the men set out from the fortress, attended by a few clients, to perform the rites, and proceeded without reconnoitring the roads or marching ranged in centuries under their standards, but negligently and unguardedly as in time of peace and as if they were passing through friendly territory. The Tyrrhenians, having learned of their departure in advance, placed one part of their army in ambush at a spot along the road, and followed soon after with the rest of their forces in regular formation. When the Fabii drew near the ambuscade, the Tyrrhenians who were lying in wait there rose up and fell upon them, some in front and others in flank, and a little later the rest of the Tyrrhenian force attacked them from the rear ; and surrounding them on all sides and shooting at them, some with slings, some with bows, and others hurling javelins and spears, they overwhelmed them all with the multitude of their missiles. Now this account seems to me to be the less credible. For not only is it improbable that so many men serving under the standards would have returned from the camp to the city because of a sacrifice without a decree from the senate, when the rites might have

τῶν ἱερουργιῶν καὶ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τῶν μετεχόντων μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, προβεβηκότων δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις· οὐτ' εἰ πάντες ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μηδεμία μοῖρα τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐν τοῖς ἐφεστίοις ὑπελείπετο, πάντας εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ φρούριον ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν· ἤρκουν γὰρ ἂν καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἀφικόμενοι συντελέσαι περὶ τοῦ γένους ὅλου τὰ ἱερά. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι πιστὸς εἶναι ὁ<sup>1</sup> λόγος.

XX. Ὁ δ' ἕτερος, ὃν ἀληθέστερον εἶναι νομίζω περὶ τε τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῦ φρουρίου, τοιόσδε τίς ἐστιν. ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τὸ κατ-ορθοῦν ἐν ταῖς πείραις συνεχῶς προσωτέρω προχωρούντων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρσκευασμένοι στρατιὰν συκινῆν ἐν τοῖς ἔγγιστα χωρίοις λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἔπειτ' ἀποστέλλοντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ποιμένας τε καὶ βουκόλια καὶ φορβάδων ἀγέλας ἵππων ἐπὶ νομὴν τῷ λόγῳ, προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα· οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους συνήρπαζον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα<sup>2</sup> περιήλαντον. τοῦτο συνεχῶς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ποιοῦντες καὶ προαγόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους αἰεὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπειδὴ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν τὸ προνοητικὸν τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ταῖς συνεχέσιν ὠφελείαις δελεάσαντες, ἐγκαθίζουσι λόχους ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τῶν χωρίων νύκτωρ, καὶ ἕτεροι τὰς ὑπερδεξίους τῶν πεδίων καταλαμβάνονται σκοπιάς<sup>2</sup>. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προπέμψαντες ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνόπλους ὥς δὴ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν νομέων, ἀφῆκαν ἐκ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ὁ B : ὅδε ὁ R.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas : σκοπὰς O.

been performed by others of the same clan who were advanced in years ; but even if they had all gone from the city and no part of the Fabian clan was left in their homes, it is improbable that all who held the fortress would have abandoned the guarding of it, since even three or four of them would have sufficed to return to Rome and perform the rites for the whole clan. For these reasons, then, this account has not seemed to me to be credible.

XX. The other account<sup>1</sup> concerning the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of the fortress, which I regard as being nearer to the truth, is somewhat as follows. As the men went out frequently to forage and, encouraged by the continued success of their forays, advanced ever farther, the Tyrrhenians got ready a numerous army and encamped in the near neighbourhood unperceived by the enemy. Then, sending out of their strongholds flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and droves of mares as if to pasture, they lured the garrison to these ; and the men, coming out, seized the herdsmen and rounded up the cattle. The Tyrrhenians kept doing this and drawing the enemy ever farther away from their camp ; then, when they had destroyed in them all thought for their safety by enticing them with constant booty, they placed ambuscades at night in the most suitable positions, while others occupied the heights that commanded the plains. The next day, sending ahead a few armed men, as if to serve as a guard for the herdsmen, they drove out a large number of herds

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 20-22 *cf.* Livy ii. 50.

3 χωρίων<sup>1</sup> πολλὰς ἀγέλας. ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς  
 Φαβίοις ὅτι τοὺς πλησίον ὑπερβαλόντες λόφους ἐν  
 ὀλίγῳ δὴ τινι χρόνῳ μεστὸν εὐρήσουσι τὸ πεδῖον  
 παντοίων βοτῶν καὶ τὴν φυλάττουσαν αὐτὰ<sup>2</sup> χεῖρα  
 οὐχ ἱκανήν, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακὴν τὴν  
 ἀρκοῦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντες· καὶ διανύσαντες  
 σπουδῇ καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιφαίνον-  
 ται τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν βοσκημάτων συντεταγμένοι·  
 κακείμενοι οὐ δεξάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Φά-  
 βιοί, ὥς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ δὴ ὄντες, τοὺς τε νομεῖς συν-  
 4 ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα περιήλυνον. ἐν  
 δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες  
 κατὰ πολλὰ χωρία προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς παντα-  
 χόθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσκεδασ-  
 μένοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες,  
 ἐνταῦθα ἀπόλλυνται. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκό-  
 τες ἦσαν προθυμούμενοί τι καταλαβέσθαι χωρίον  
 ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄρη σπεύδοντες εἰς ἕτερον  
 ἐμπίπτουσι λόχον ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ὑποκαθ-  
 ῆμενον. καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν μάχῃ καρτερὰ καὶ  
 φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πολὺς. ἀπεώσαντο δ' οὖν καὶ  
 τοὺτους ὁμως,<sup>3</sup> καὶ πληρώσαντες τὴν φάραγγα<sup>4</sup>  
 νεκρῶν ἀνέδραμον ἐπὶ λόφον οὐ ράδιον ἀλῶναι·  
 ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἄποροι τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 ἠὺλίσαντο.

XXI. Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες τὴν κατασχοῦ-  
 σαν τοὺς σφετέρους τύχην οἱ κατέχοντες τὸ φρού-  
 ριον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἀπόλωλε τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 μέρος ἐν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον ἐν ὄρει  
 πολιορκεῖται κατακεκλεισμένον ἐρήμῳ, καὶ εἰ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> χωρίων Cmg, Sintenis : φρουρίων O.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. : αὐτῶν Ba, αὐτὸ ABb.

from their strongholds. When word was brought to the Fabii that if they went over the neighbouring hills they would in a very short time find the plain covered with cattle of all sorts with a guard insufficient to defend them, they went out of the fortress, leaving an adequate garrison there. And covering the distance speedily in their eagerness, they appeared before the guards of the cattle in battle array. These did not await their attack, but fled, and the Fabii, thinking themselves now quite secure, set about seizing the herdsmen and rounding up the cattle. Thereupon the Tyrrhenians, rising up from ambush in many places, fell upon them from all sides. The greater part of the Romans, being scattered and unable to assist one another, were killed upon the spot ; but those who were in a body, being eager to reach a secure position and hastening toward the hills, fell into another ambuscade that lay concealed in the woods and glens. Here a sharp battle took place between them and there was great slaughter on both sides. But nevertheless they repulsed even these foes, and after filling the ravine with dead bodies, they ran up to the top of a hill that was not easy to take, and there passed the following night in want of the necessary provisions.

XXI. The next day those who were holding the fortress, upon being informed of the disaster that had befallen their companions—namely, that the greater part of the army had been destroyed in their pursuit of plunder and the bravest of them were shut up and besieged on a lonely mountain, and that if some aid

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<sup>3</sup> ὄμως Ba (?), Portus : ὁμόσε ABb.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg : φάλαγγα O.



ταχεῖά τις αὐτοῖς ἤξει<sup>1</sup> βοήθεια, σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων φθάσουσιν ἐξαιρεθέντες, ἐξήεσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὀλίγους πάνυ καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ<sup>2</sup> φύλακας. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοί, πρὶν ἢ συμμίξαι τοῖς ἑτέροις, ἐπικαταδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων κυκλοῦνται τε καὶ πολλὰ γενναῖα ἔργα ἀποδειξά-  
 2 μένους διαφθείρουσιν ἅπαντας σὺν χρόνῳ. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν λόφον καταλαβόμενοι λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ πιεζόμενοι ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔγνωσαν· καὶ συμπεσόντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν τῶν πολεμίων φόνον ὥστε τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς μάχης πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ πλείον ἢ τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ δείσαντες, μικρὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰ ὄπλα διὰ τῶν ἀνακλητικῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ δίοδον ἐὰν  
 3 τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθῶνται καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐκλίπωσιν. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενῆ θάνατον αἰρουμένων, ἐπήεσαν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐκ διαδοχῆς, συστάδην μὲν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκέτι μαχόμενοι, πρόσωθεν δὲ βάλλοντες ἀθρόοι λόγχαις καὶ χερμάσι, καὶ ἦν νιφετῷ παραπλήσιος ἢ πληθὺς τῶν βελῶν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συστρεφόμενοι κατὰ λόχους προσέτρεχον αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑφιστα-  
 4 πέριξ ὑπέμενον. ὥς δὲ τὰ τε ξίφη πολλοῖς ἄχρηστα ἦν, τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμάς, τὰ δὲ κατ-  
 εαγότα, καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ πέριξ ἵτυος ἐχόμενα

<sup>1</sup> ἤξει ACmg : ἔσται B, om. C.

<sup>2</sup> φρουρίῳ Cmg : χωρίῳ O.



did not reach them promptly they would soon be destroyed for want of provisions—set out in haste, leaving very few in the fortress to guard it. These troops, before they could join their companions, were surrounded by the Tyrrhenians, who rushed down upon them from their strongholds ; and though they displayed many feats of valour, they were in time all destroyed. Not long afterwards those also who had seized the hill, being oppressed by both hunger and thirst, resolved to charge the enemy ; and engaging, a few against many, they continued fighting from morning till night, and made so great a slaughter of the enemy that the heaps of dead bodies piled up in many places were a hindrance to them in fighting. Indeed, the Tyrrhenians had lost above a third part of their army, and fearing for the rest, they now gave the signal for a retreat and stopped fighting for a short time ; and sending heralds to the men, they offered them their lives and a safe-conduct if they would lay down their arms and evacuate the fortress. When the others refused their offer and chose the death befitting men of noble birth, the Tyrrhenians renewed the struggle, attacking them in relays, though no longer fighting at close quarters in hand-to-hand combat, but standing in a body and hurling javelins and stones at them from a distance ; and the multitude of missiles was like a snow-storm. The Romans, massing by companies, rushed upon their foes, who did not stand their ground, and though they received many wounds from those surrounding them, they stood firm. But when the swords of many had become useless, some having their edges blunted and others being broken, and the borders of their shields

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

διετέθρυπτο, ἔξαιμοί τε οἱ πλείους καὶ καταβελεῖς  
 καὶ παράλυτοι τὰ μέλη διὰ πλῆθος τραυμάτων  
 ἦσαν, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ χωροῦ-  
 σιν ὁμόσε· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσπίπτοντες ὥσπερ  
 θηρία δόρατά τε αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων,  
 καὶ ξίφη δραττόμενοι κατὰ τὰς ἀκμὰς ἀπέσπων,  
 καὶ περικυλίνοντες εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα συνεφύ-  
 ροντο θυμῷ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ δυνάμει διαγωνιζόμενοι.  
 5 ὥστε οὐκέτι συνήεσαν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας οἱ πολέμιοι,  
 τό τε καρτερικὸν ἐκπληττόμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἦν προσειλήφεσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπό-  
 γνωσιν τοῦ ζῆν δεδιότες· ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες αὖθις  
 ἔβαλλον ἀθρόοι καὶ ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ  
 ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐγκατέχωσαν αὐτοὺς  
 τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν. διαφθείραντες δὲ τοὺς  
 ἀνδρας ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον, ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν  
 ἐπιφανεστάτων κεφαλὰς, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοὺς ἐκεῖ  
 6 παραληψόμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γε αὐτοῖς κατὰ  
 τὴν<sup>1</sup> ἐλπίδα τὸ ἔργον· οἱ γὰρ καταλειφθέντες ἐν  
 αὐτῷ ζηλώσαντες τὸ εὐγενὲς τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τε  
 ἐταίρων καὶ τῶν<sup>2</sup> συγγενῶν ἐξῆλθον ὀλίγοι παντά-  
 πασιν ὄντες, καὶ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἐτέροις ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν.  
 τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔρημον οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρέλαβον. ἐμοὶ  
 μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πιστότερος ἐφαίνετο πολὺ  
 τοῦ προτέρου· φέρονται δ' ἐν γραφαῖς Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀξιοχρέοις ἀμφότεροι.

XXII. Τὸ δὲ συναπτόμενον τούτοις ὑπό τινων  
 οὗτ' ἀληθὲς ὃν οὕτε πιθανόν, ἐκ παρακούσματος

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν Ο : κατ' Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν added by Sylburg.

next the rims were hacked in pieces, and the men themselves were for the most part bled white and overwhelmed by missiles and their limbs paralysed by reason of the multitude of their wounds, the Tyrrhenians scorned them and came to close quarters. Then the Romans, rushing at them like wild beasts, seized their spears and broke them, grasped their swords by the edges and wrenched them out of their hands, and twisting the bodies of their antagonists, fell with them to the ground, locked in close embrace, fighting with greater rage than strength. Hence the enemy, astonished at their endurance and terrified at the madness that had seized them in their despair of life, no longer ventured to come to grips with them, but retiring again, stood in a body and hurled at them sticks, stones, and anything else they could lay their hands on, and at last buried them under the multitude of missiles. After destroying these men they ran to the fortress, carrying with them the heads of the most prominent, expecting to take the men there prisoners at their first onset. However, the attempt did not turn out according to their hopes ; for the men who had been left there, emulating the noble death of their comrades and kinsmen, came out of the fortress, though very few in number, and after fighting for a considerable time were all destroyed in the same manner as the others ; and the place was empty of men when the Tyrrhenians took it. To me now this account appears much more credible than the former ; but both of them are to be found in Roman writings of good authority.

XXII. The addition to this account which has been made by certain writers, though neither true nor

δέ τινος πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ πλήθους,<sup>2</sup> ἄξιον μὴ  
 παραλιπεῖν ἀνεξέταστον. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τινες,  
 τῶν ἑξ καὶ τριακοσίων Φαβίων ἀπολομένων, ὅτι ἐν  
 μόνον ἐλείφθη τοῦ γένους παιδίον, πρᾶγμα οὐ μόνον  
 2 ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰσάγοντες. οὔτε  
 γὰρ ἀτέκνους τε καὶ ἀγάμους ἅπαντας εἶναι δυ-  
 νατὸν ἦν τοὺς ἐξελθόντας εἰς τὸ φρούριον Φαβίους.  
 ὁ γὰρ ἀρχαῖος αὐτῶν νόμος γαμεῖν τε ἠνάγκαζε  
 τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐπάναγκες  
 τρέφειν· ὃν οὐκ ἂν δήπου κατέλυσαν οἱ Φάβιοι  
 μόνοι πεφυλαγμένον ἄχρι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἡλικίας ὑπὸ  
 3 τῶν πατέρων. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο θείῃ τις, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι συγχωρήσειε, τὸ μὴδ' ἀδελ-  
 φοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναί τισιν ἡλικίαν ἔτι παίδων ἔχοντας.  
 μύθοις γὰρ δὴ ταῦτά γε καὶ πλάσμασιν ἔοικε  
 θεατρικοῖς. οἱ δὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι παῖδας ἔτι  
 ποιεῖν εἶχον ἡλικίαν, τοσαύτης κατασχούσης τὸ  
 γένος ἐρημίας οὐκ ἂν ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐτέ-  
 ρους παῖδας ἐποιήσαντο, ἵνα μήτε ἱερὰ ἐκλειφθῇ  
 πατρῶα μήτε δόξα τηλικαύτη διαφθαρῇ γένους;  
 4 εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὐδὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν τισιν ἐλείποντο,  
 ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰς ταῦτό συνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξ καὶ  
 τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τὰ ἀδύνατα—μὴ παῖδας  
 αὐτοῖς καταλειφθῆναι νηπίους, μὴ γυναῖκας ἐγ-  
 κύους, μὴ ἀδελφοὺς ἀνήβους, μὴ πατέρας ἐν ἀκμῇ.  
 5 ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τὸν λόγον ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἀληθῇ νε-  
 νόμικα, ἐκεῖνον δ' ἀληθῇ· τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν,  
 Καίσωνός τε καὶ Κοῖντου καὶ Μάρκου τῶν ὑπατευ-

<sup>1</sup> Reiske : ἀπὸ O.<sup>2</sup> πλήθους B : ἀληθοῦς R.

plausible, but invented by the multitude from some false report, does not deserve to be passed over without examination. For some report that after the three hundred and six Fabii had been slain, there was only one boy left out of the whole clan, thereby introducing a detail that is not only improbable, but even impossible; for it is not possible that all the Fabii who went out to the fortress were unmarried and childless. For not only did the ancient law of the Romans oblige all of the proper age to marry, but they were forced also to rear all their children; and surely the Fabii would not have been the only persons to violate a law which had been observed by their ancestors down to their time. But even if one were to admit this assumption, yet he would never make the further admission that none of them had any brothers still in their childhood. Why, such situations resemble myths and fictions of the stage! Besides, would not as many of their fathers as were still of an age to beget children, now that so great a desolation had come upon their clan, have begotten other children both willingly and unwillingly, in order that neither the sacrifices of their ancestors might be abandoned nor the great reputation of the clan be extinguished? Unless, indeed, none even of their fathers were left and all the conditions which would render it impossible to perpetuate the clan combined together in the case of those three hundred and six men—namely, that they left behind them no infant children, no wives with child, no brothers still under age, no fathers in the prime of life. Testing the story by such reasoning, I have come to the conclusion that it is not true, but that the following is the true account. Of the three brothers, Caeso, Quintus, and Marcus, who had

σάντων τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπατείας, ἐγκαταλειφ-  
θῆναι πείθομαι Μάρκῳ παιδίον, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ  
6 λεγόμενον<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων οἴκου λοιπόν. οὐδὲν  
δὲ<sup>2</sup> κωλύει τῷ μηκέτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῇ τινα καὶ  
λαμπρὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἐνὸς τοῦδε ἀνδρωθέντος γενέσθαι  
ταύτην παραστήναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν δόξαν ὅτι  
μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐστὶ λοιπός  
—οὐχ ὡς μηδενὸς ἄλλου ὄντος, ἀλλ' ὡς μη-  
δενὸς ἐκείνοις ὁμοίου—ἀρετῇ τεκμαιρομένοις τὸ  
συγγενές, οὐ φύσει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταῦθ'  
ικανά.

XXIII. Οἱ δ' οὖν<sup>3</sup> Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας δια-  
φθείραντες καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Κρεμέρα φρούριον παρα-  
λαβόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
ἦγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτυχε δ' οὐ μακρὰν κατ-  
εστρατοπεδευκὼς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μενήνιος  
οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ· καὶ ὅτε ἡ Φαβίων συγγένεια  
καὶ τὸ πελατικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τριάκοντά που  
σταδίους ἀπείχεν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τόπου,  
δόξαν τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις παρέσχε, γνοὺς ἐν οἷσι κα-  
κοῖς ἦσαν οἱ Φάβιοι, μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι  
φροντίδα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης τοῖς ἀνδράσι  
2 φθονῶν. τοιγαροῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν  
δημάρχων εἰς δίκην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ  
ἑάλω. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπένθησεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις  
ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀρετὰς ἀποκειρα-  
μένα, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ δόξαν αὐτοῖς αἴτιον  
γεγονέναι τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς πικρῶς καὶ  
ἀπαραιτήτως εἶχεν· τὴν δ' ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν ᾗ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> λεγόμενον O : λεγόμενον μόνον Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ added by Sintenis.

<sup>3</sup> δ' οὖν Hertlein : γοῦν R, om. Ba.



been consuls for seven years in succession, I believe that Marcus left one young son, and that this boy was the one who is reported to have been the survivor<sup>1</sup> of the Fabian house. There is no reason why it should not have been because no one else of the clan became famous and illustrious except this one son, when he had grown to manhood,<sup>2</sup> that most people came to hold the belief that he was the only survivor of the Fabian clan—not, indeed, that there was no other, but that there was none like those famous three—judging kinship on the basis of merit, not of birth. But enough on this subject.

XXIII. After the Tyrrhenians,<sup>3</sup> then, had destroyed the Fabii and taken the fortress on the Cremera, they led their forces against the other army of the Romans. It chanced that Menenius, one of the consuls, lay encamped not far away in an insecure position; and when the Fabian clan and their clients perished, he was only some thirty stades from the place where the disaster occurred—a circumstance which gave many people reason to believe that, though aware of the dire straits of the Fabii, he had shown no concern for them because of the envy he felt of their valour and reputation. Accordingly, when he was later brought to trial by the tribunes, this was the chief ground for his condemnation. For the people of Rome deeply mourned their having shorn themselves of the valour of so many and so brave men and were severe and inexorable toward all whom they suspected of having been responsible for so great a calamity; and they regard the day on

<sup>1</sup> Or, following Kiessling, "the sole survivor."

<sup>2</sup> He was consul ten years later; see chap. 59.

<sup>3</sup> For chaps. 23 f. *cf.* Livy ii. 51, 1-3.



πάθος ἐγένετο μέλαινάν τε καὶ ἀποφράδα τίθεται  
καὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔργου ἐν ταύτῃ χρηστοῦ ἄρξαιτο,  
<sup>3</sup> τὴν τότε συμβᾶσαν αὐτῇ τύχην ὀττενομένην. ὥς  
δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ Τυρρηνοί,  
συνιδόντες αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον (ἦν δ' ὑπὸ λαγόνι  
κείμενον ὄρους) τῆς τε ἀπειρίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
κατεφρόνησαν καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πλεον-  
έκτημα<sup>1</sup> ἀγαπητῶς ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς  
ἵππεῖς ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν πλευρὰν τοῦ  
λόφου οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυ-  
φήν. καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς<sup>2</sup> τῶν  
Ῥωμαίων κόρυμβον ἔθεντο ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ  
τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀσφαλῶς ἀναβιβάσαντες ὑψηλῶ  
χάρακι καὶ βαθείᾳ τάφρῳ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὠχυρώ-  
<sup>4</sup> σαντο. εἰ μὲν οὖν συνιδὼν ὁ Μενήνιος οἶον ἔδωκε  
πλεονέκτημα τοῖς πολεμίους μετέγνω τε τὴν  
ἀμαρτάδα καὶ εἰς ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπήγαγε<sup>3</sup> χωρίον  
τὴν στρατιάν, σοφὸς ἂν ἦν, νῦν δὲ δι' αἰσχύνης  
λαμβάνων τὸ δοκεῖν ἡμαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸ αὐθαδὲς  
πρὸς τοὺς μεταδιδάσκοντας φυλάττων, μετ'<sup>4</sup> αἰσχύ-  
<sup>5</sup> νης ἄξιον πτώμα ἔπεσεν. οἷα γὰρ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων  
αὐτοῦ τόπων οἱ πολέμοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκάστοτε  
ποιούμενοι πολλὰ ἐπλεονέκτουν, ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν  
ἀγομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀρπάζοντες καὶ τοῖς  
ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ ὕδωρ ἐκπορευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενοι· καὶ  
περιειστῆκει τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ μήτε καιροῦ εἶναι  
κυρίῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι μήτε τόπου  
—ᾧ δοκεῖ μεγάλα εἶναι κατηγορήματα ἡγεμόνων  
στρατηγίας ἀπείρων—τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀμφότερα  
<sup>6</sup> ὥς ἐβούλοντο εἶχε ταῦτα. καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀπανα-

<sup>1</sup> πλεονέκτημα R : om. B.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς B : ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς R.

which the disaster occurred as black and inauspicious and will begin no useful labour on it, looking upon the disaster which then occurred on that day as a bad omen. When the Tyrrhenians came near the Romans and observed the situation of their camp, which lay under a flank of a hill, they felt contempt for the inexperience of the general and gladly grasped the advantage presented to them by Fortune. They at once marched up the opposite side of the hill with their horse and gained the summit without opposition. Then, having thus possessed themselves of the height above the Romans, they made camp there, brought up the rest of their army in safety, and fortified the camp with a high palisade and a deep ditch. Now if Menenius, when he perceived what an advantage he had given the enemy, had repented of his error and removed his army to a safer position, he would have been wise ; but as it was, being ashamed to be thought to have made a mistake, and maintaining an obstinate front toward those who advised him to change his plans, he came a merited fall which brought disgrace as well. For as the enemy were constantly sending out detachments from places that commanded his camp, they had many advantages, not only seizing the provisions which the merchants were bringing to the Romans, but also attacking his men as they went out for forage or for water ; and it had come to the point where the consul did not have it in his power to choose either the time or the place of combat—which seems to be strong evidence of the inexperience of a general—whereas the Tyrrhenians could do both as they wished. And not even then

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<sup>3</sup> Sintenis : ἀπῆγε Ο.

<sup>4</sup> μετὰ ABC : εἰς D, om. Jacoby.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

στῆσαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Μενήμιος ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐξαγαγὼν παρέταξεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, καταφρονήσας τῶν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑποτιθεμένων. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενοι κατέβαινον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ διπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες. ὥς δὲ συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, φόνος ἐγίγνετο<sup>2</sup> τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολὺς οὐ δυναμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν. ἐξεώθουν<sup>3</sup> γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχον καὶ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων κατόπιν (ἐτάξαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ βάθος) ἐμπτώσει πολλῇ συνεργούμενοι. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν<sup>4</sup> ἐπιφανεστάτων λοχαγῶν ἢ λοιπῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐγκλίνασα ἔφευγεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, καὶ τὰς τε σημείας αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν γίνονται κύριοι. καὶ κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς λοιπῆς ἡμέρας προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν νύκτα ἀφέντες αἰροῦσι τὸν χάρακα ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδον, καὶ γίνονται πολλῶν σωμάτων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποσκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἔσχον οἱ φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα διέσωσαν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες.

XXIV. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὴν τε ἀπώλειαν τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ χάρακος μαθόντες (ἦκον γὰρ οἱ πρῶτοι διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς πολλῆς<sup>5</sup> ἔτι νυκτὸς οὕσης) εἰς μέγαν θόρυβον ὥσπερ εἰκὸς κατέστησαν· καὶ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλευσομένων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Gelenius : ἀνασπῆναι O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγίγνετο B : ἐγένετο A.

<sup>3</sup> Prou : ἐξώθουν O.

could Menenius bring himself to move his army away from there ; but leading out the troops, he drew them up ready for battle, scorning all who offered salutary advice. The Tyrrhenians, looking upon the folly of the general as a piece of great good fortune, came down from their camp with numbers fully twice those of their foe. When they engaged, there was a great slaughter of the Romans, who were unable to keep their ranks. For they were forced back by the Tyrrhenians, who not only had the terrain as an ally, but were also helped by the vigorous pressure of those who stood behind them, their army being drawn up with deep files. When the most prominent centurions had fallen, the rest of the Roman army gave way and fled to the camp ; and the enemy pursued them, took away their standards, seized their wounded, and got possession of their dead. Then they shut them up in their camp and besieged them ; and delivering numerous attacks during all the rest of the day, without desisting even at night, they captured the camp, which the Romans had abandoned, and took many prisoners and a great quantity of booty ; for those who fled had not been able to pack up their belongings, but were glad to escape with their bare lives, many not keeping even their arms.

XXIV. When those at Rome heard that their army was destroyed and their camp taken—the first who had saved themselves from the rout arrived while it was still deep night—they fell into great confusion, as may well be imagined ; and expecting the enemy to come against them at any moment, they seized

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<sup>4</sup> δὲ τῶν R : δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ACmg.

<sup>5</sup> τροπῆς πολλῆς Kiessling : πολλῆς τροπῆς O.

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ὅπλα, οἱ μὲν τὰ τεῖχη περιεστεφάνουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ  
 τῶν πυλῶν ἐτάξαντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως  
 2 κατελαμβάνοντο. ἦν δὲ δρόμος ἄτακτος ἀνὰ τὴν  
 πόλιν ὅλην<sup>1</sup> καὶ βοή συμμιγής, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν οἰκῶν εἰς ἀλκὴν καὶ ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπῆς ὁ κατ-  
 οικίδιος ὄχλος, πυρσοί τε συνεχεῖς, οἷα δὴ ἐν νυκτὶ  
 καὶ σκότῳ, διὰ τε ὑπολαμπάδων<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀπὸ τεγῶν  
 τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦθοντο<sup>4</sup> ὥστε συναφὲς εἶναι  
 3 ἐμπιμπραμένης πόλεως παρασχεῖν. καὶ εἰ τότε οἱ  
 Τυρρηνοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ὠφελειῶν ὑπεριδόν-  
 τες ἐκ ποδὸς τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἠκολούθησαν, ἅπαντα  
 ἂν διέφθαρτο ἢ στρατεύσασα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δύναμις.  
 2. 3 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τε τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων  
 ἐν τῷ χάρακι τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὰ σώ-  
 ματα δόντες μεγάλου αὐχήματος ἑαυτοὺς ἐστέρη-  
 σαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγοντες ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ σταδίους ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκκαίδεκα  
 ἀποσχόντες ὄρος ἐξ οὗ σύνοπτός ἐστιν ἡ Ῥώμη,  
 τὸ καλούμενον Ἰάνικλον, καταλαμβάνονται, ὅθεν  
 ὀρμώμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν ἡγόν τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὅλην B : om. R.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby : στέγεσι O.

<sup>3</sup> νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ, διὰ τε ὑπολαμπάδων Post : νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ·  
 δίαίτά τε ὑπὸ λαμπάδων A, νυκτὶ σκότῳ (σκότος Bb) δίαίτά τε  
 (διαίταται Bb) ὑπὸ λαμπάδων B, νυκτὶ καὶ σκοταῖα ταύτῃ ὑπὸ  
 λαμπάδων Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> ἦθοντο Capps : ἤροντο B, ἐπειρῶντο drân AC, ἐπυροῦντο  
 Steph.

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<sup>1</sup> "Lantern" is here used in the architectural sense of a light open structure set upon a roof to admit light and air to the interior. The only other occurrence of the  
 372

their arms and some formed a circle about the walls, others stationed themselves before the gates, and still others occupied the heights in the city. There was a disorderly running to and fro throughout the entire city and a confused clamour; on the roofs of the houses were the members of each household, prepared to defend themselves and give battle; and an uninterrupted succession of torches, as it was in the night and dark, blazed through lanterns<sup>1</sup> and from roofs, so many in number that to those seeing them at a distance it seemed to be one continuous blaze and gave the impression of a city on fire. And if the Tyrrhenians at that time had scorned the booty to be got from the camp and had followed on the heels of the fleeing Romans, the whole army which had taken the field against them would have been destroyed; but as it was, by turning to plundering everything which had been left behind in the camp and to resting their bodies, they deprived themselves of a great opportunity for boasting. The next day they led their forces against Rome, and when they were about sixteen stades from the city, they occupied the mount called Janiculum, from which the city is in full view. And using that as a base of operations, they pillaged the territory of the Romans without

word *ὑπολαμπάς* in extant literature is in a quotation from Phylarchus found in Athenaeus (536 e). But in an inscription (*Inscript. Graec.* xi. 366 A, lines 14-48 *passim*) containing an account of the expenditures made on the hypostyle hall at Delos the word occurs several times, as a detailed list is given of the parts of the lantern that were repaired. Remains of the lantern have been found and agree with the references given in the inscription. See *Exploration archéologique de Délos: Nouvelles recherches sur la salle hypostyle*, Suppl. 2 (R. Vallois and G. Poulsen, Paris, 1914), pp. 10, 34, 38 f., 51 f.

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ἔφερον ἀκώλυτοι κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὑπεροψίαν, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων  
 4 Ὀράτιον ἄγοντα τὴν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις δύναμιν. τότε δὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητα καθοπλίσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον. ὥς δὲ τὴν τε πρώτην μάχην ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτὼ τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἑλπίδος ἱερὸν ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ ἀπεώσαντο τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην αὖθις ἑτέρα<sup>1</sup> πλείονι δυνάμει τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐπελθόντων παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίναις καλουμέναις πύλαις<sup>2</sup> λαμπρῶς ἡγωνίσαντο, ἀνέπνευσαν<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τοῦ δέους· καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

<sup>1</sup> ἑτέρα ABC : ἑτέραν D.

<sup>2</sup> ποιησάμενοι after πύλαις deleted by Sintenis.



BOOK IX. 24, 3-4

hindrance, holding those in the city in great contempt, till the other consul, Horatius, appeared with the army which had been among the Volscians. Then at last the Romans thought themselves safe, and arming the youth that were in the city, they took the field ; and having not only in the first battle, which was fought at the distance of eight stades from the city near the temple of Hope, overcome their opponents and driven them back, but also, after that engagement, having fought brilliantly with them again near the gate called the Colline, when the Tyrrhenians had come against them with another and larger army, they recovered from their fear. Thus ended that year.

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<sup>3</sup> καὶ before ἀνέπνευσαν deleted by Sylburg.

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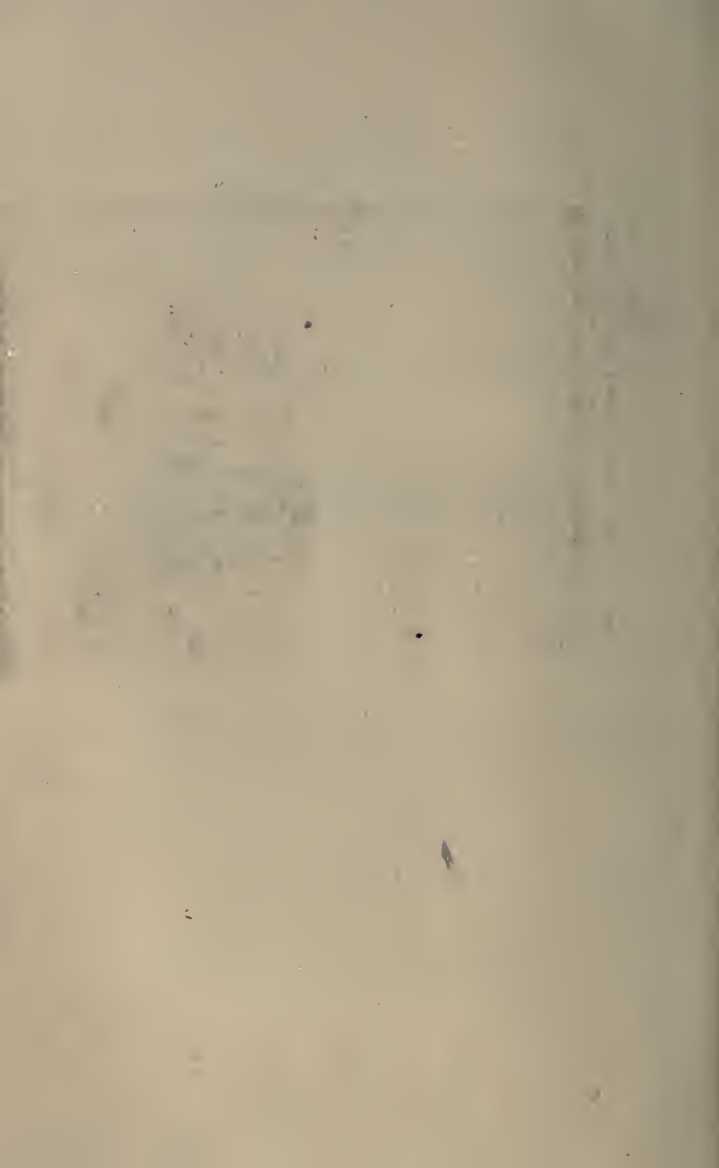
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